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ABSTRACT

The study examined the competition for control of schools between Anglos and Mexican Americans in 2 South Texas towns. The study's major objective was to describe the history of, and conceptually account for, the development of this new ethnic power struggle in which the control of schools played a primary role. Both towns, situated in a region known for its year-round vegetable economy, shared such demographic characteristics as population size, ethnic composition, and Anglo dominance of the economy. Among the 146 persons interviewed were past and present school board members, persons who had unsuccessfully competed for school board positions, administrators, teachers, city and county officials, and Raza Unida Party members. Observations of such events as school board meetings, city council meetings, football games and practices, church services, and confrontations between the Better Government League, local Ciudadanos, Crystal City Anglos, and the Crystal City Raza Unida Party were conducted. Some findings were: (1) historically Anglos had dominated the Mexican American socially and culturally by controlling the agricultural economy; (2) both ethnic sectors perceived schools as a basic local energy source to be used as power in controlling the local physical and social environment; and (3) ethnic conflict resulted in a decrease of "latitude" for subordinates' actions within the school domain. (NQ)

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ETHNIC COMPETITION FOR CONTROL OF SCHOOLS IN TWO SOUTH TEXAS TOWNS

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DISSERTATION
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
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of the Requirements
for the Degree of

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ETHNIC COMPETITION FOR CONTROL OF SCHOOLS
IN TWO SOUTH TEXAS TOWNS

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ETHNIC COMPETITION FOR CONTROL OF SCHOOLS IN TWO SOUTH TEXAS TOWNS

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Donald Eugene Post, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Austin, 1974

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The major objective of this research is to describe the history of, and conceptually account for, the development of an ethnic power struggle in two South Texas towns in which the control of schools plays a primary role. The primary focus of the analysis is upon the way in which schools and school leadership have operated to maintain the subordinate power position of Mexican-Americans and the effect upon school leadership of Mexican-Americans' attempts to gain control of the school boards. The two towns analyzed form part of a regional area experiencing significant changes in Anglo-American and Mexican-American relationships. The transformation is, on the one hand, a result of a long history of Mexican social and cultural subordination. On the other hand, it can be conceptualized as an ethnic socio-cultural revivication movement which, with varying degrees, consciously rejects many characteristics

of the dominant Anglo population and deliberately seeks to politicize all Americans of Mexican descent in order to enhance the group's socio-economic position in the environment. The chief reference point for the movement in Texas has come to be Crystal City, where the movement, through the newly created La Raza Unida Party, has taken control of the formal political apparatus. Other towns in the region use Crystal City as a reference in measuring their own location on an ethnic power transformation scale. The control of schools is one of the key objects of competition between the two ethnic sectors. Such competition heightens the consciousness of the actors and provides an excellent opportunity to specify the cultural values and meanings attached to schools by both ethnic sectors and test a number of issues existent in educational research, such as the extent to which school systems are "open" or "closed," the relative control of schools exerted by locals versus professionals, and the effect of state and federal controls upon school governance. Historically the Anglos have controlled the school boards, the administrative positions, the faculty, and student leadership offices and awards.

The analyst used traditional anthropological methods of interviewing key informants and observing local events. Yet, the analysis is a modified ethnography since only the socio-cultural network most directly linked to the governance of schools was mapped, and then only in terms of the power and cultural features used as basic ethnic organizational features in forming the present competition for control of the schools and local social transformation. The analyst also conducted a content analysis of school board minutes and school annuals. Extensive agricultural and social demographic data were gathered. The investigation was conducted during the period of November, 1972, through December, 1973.

The analysis revealed that historically Anglos in the two localities have dominated the Mexican-American socially and culturally by controlling the agricultural economy. Within this context the study provides a case of how the school domain is perceived by one ethnic sector (Chicano/RUP) as functioning historically to maintain their socio-cultural subordination. Concomitantly, there is a significant number of Anglos who, with varying degrees of consciousness, view the school domain as functioning to maintain Mexican-American socio-cultural subordination. The following findings were associated with this basic conceptualization: (1) culture and power were found to be intimately related and brokered by units at all levels for either system maintenance or change; (2) the school system functions as an open system, if viewed from the perspective of organizational behavior found in political education research; (3) professional school leaders were power subordinates in the local power domain; and (4) ethnic conflict resulted in a decrease of "latitude" for subordinates' actions within the school domain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES ix

Chapter

I. THE PROBLEM 1

The Relationship of Educational and Social Science Literature to Ethnic Competition for the Control of Schools 3

Community Studies 11

Summary and Interpretation: Community and Educational Studies 30

Methodological and Conceptual Contributions . . 33

The Concept of Community 36
The Holistic Perspective and the Ethnographic Method 38
The Concept of Culture and its Utility in Developing a Theory of Ethnic Relations . 42
The Concept of Power and Its Relation to Culture and Social Change 58
Summary and Interpretation 75

The Research Design 78

II. THE PHYSICAL CONTEXT AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE ETHNIC UNITS IN THE TWO LOCALITIES . . . 87

The Physical Context--Regional and Local . . . 88

Summary and Interpretation 98

Social Characteristics 101

Population Characteristics 101

Age and Sex Characteristics 103
Natural Increase Factors 109
Migration Increase Factors 111
Summary and Interpretation 116

Chapter Page
Education 118
Economic Characteristics 125
Summary and Interpretation 131

III. THE HISTORY OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS 135

North Town Anglos Interpret Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations 138

Ethnic Boundaries and School Governance . . 157
Anglos Lose Control of Schools 169

North Town Mexican-American Interpretations of Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations 174

Mexican-American Perceptions of Schooling . 181
Mexican-Americans Conmeptualize Anglo Relations as Internal Colonialism: A Summary and Interpretation 184

South Town Anglos Interpret Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations 189

Ethnic Boundaries and School Governance . . 211
Anglos Lose Control of Schools 219
Summary and Interpretation 222

South Town Mexican-Americans Interpret Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations . . . 223

Mexican-American Perceptions of Schooling . 229

Summary and Interpretation 235

IV. THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN THREAT TO DOMINANCE AND THE ANGLOS RESPONSE -- PART I: THE CASE OF NORTH TOWN 243

Upper Level Contributions: A Preface to Local Mobilization 245
North Town's Mobilization 265
Summary 288
Anglo Response to the Mexican-American Threat. 292
School Leadership Response 308
Summary and Interpretation 316

Chapter Page

V. THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN THREAT TO DOMINANCE AND THE ANGLO RESPONSE -- PART II: THE CASE OF SOUTH TOWN 320

Summary and Interpretation: North and South Town Mexican-American Mobilization 352
Anglo Response to Mexican-American Mobilization in South Town 356

The Early Period: Anglo Paralysis 356
The Late Period: Anglo Attempts to Mobilize 366
Anglo School Leaders' Response 371

Summary and Interpretation 383

VI. TOWARD A THEORY OF SCHOOL LEADERSHIP 391

Socio-Cultural Power Relations: Past and Present 394
The Mexican-American Threat to Anglo Dominance 401
School Leadership 410

APPENDIX A 424

APPENDIX B 470

BIBLIOGRAPHY 482

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Age and Sex Characteristics: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors in North County, 1960-1970 . . 104
2. Age and Sex Characteristics: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors in South County, 1960-1970 . . 105
3. Net Migration, 1960-1970. 111
4. Cash Receipts: Crops Versus Livestock in Three Winter Garden Counties and Compared With North and South Counties - 1968-1972 . . 425
5. Irrigated Land in Farms, A Comparison of Three Winter Garden Counties and North/South Counties: 1909-1969 426
6. Crop Production - 1968-1972 427
7. Number of Farms and Average Acreage for Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties 428
8. Crop Production - 1968-1972 429
9. Summary of Climatic Data for North Town . . . 430
10. Summary of Climatic Data for South Town . . . 431
11. Summary of Climatic Data for Uvalde, Texas . 432
12. Summary of Climatic Data for Carrizo Springs, Texas 433
13. Population: Ethnic Differentiation of Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties - 1970 434
14. Population Pyramid of North County: 1960 White Persons of Spanish Surname 436
15. Population Pyramid for North County: 1960 Anglo Americans 437

Table Page

16. Population Pyramid for North County: 1970 Persons of Spanish Language or Spanish Surname 438

17. Population Pyramid for North County: 1970 Anglo-Americans 439

18. 1970 Age and Ethnic Distribution for North County 440

19. Population Pyramid for South County: 1960 White Persons of Spanish Surname 441

20. Population Pyramid for South County: 1960 Anglo-Americans 442

21. Population Pyramid for South County: 1970 Persons of Spanish Language or Spanish Surname 443

22. Population Pyramid for South County: 1970 Anglo Americans 444

23. 1970 Age and Ethnic Distribution for South County 445

24. Live Births and Deaths in North County, 1960-1970 446

25. Live Births and Deaths in South County, 1960-1970 447

26. Live Births and Deaths in North and South County, Ethnic Differentiation - 1970-1972 . . 448

27. Spanish-Surname Population of North and South Counties, By Nativity and Parentage - 1950-1970 449

28. Residence in 1965 Compared to Residence in 1970: A Comparison of Anglo-Americans and Persons of Spanish Language or Spanish Surname in North and South Counties 450

29. Rural-Urban Migration Rates for Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties, 1930-1970 451

Table Page

30. School Characteristics of Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties, Total and Spanish-Surname, 25 Years and Older, 1970 452

31. Summary of the Social Composition of South Town High School, Selected Years, 1940-1973 . 453

32. Summary of the Social Composition of North Town High School, Selected Years, 1949-1972 . 454

33. Summary: Migratory Analysis of Selected Graduating Classes, South Town High School, 1940, 1948, 1955, 1958, 1964, 1969 455

34. Summary: Migratory Analysis of Selected Graduating Classes, North Town High School, 1939, 1949, 1955, 1959, 1965, 1969 456

35. Percentage of North and South Town High School Graduates Leaving, by School and Ethnicity, for Years before 1960 and During the 1960's. 457

36. School Characteristics: Three Winter Garden School Districts Compared with the Districts of North and South Towns, 1971-1972 458

37. Financial Resources of Three Winter Garden School Districts Compared with North and South Town School Districts, 1968-1972 . . . 459

38. Occupational Distribution of Ethnic Sectors in North and South Counties, 1970 460

39. Percent Distribution of Employed Population: North and South Counties, A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors by Industry Categories, 1970 . 461

40. A Comparison of Median Family Income and Median Education, With Poverty Between Ethnic Sectors in North and South Counties 1970 462

41. A Measure of Fertility: Ethnic Sector Comparison in North and South Counties, 1970. 463

Table Page

42. Live Births, Postneonatal and Neonatal Deaths, and Infant Mortality Rates for 1964, 1971, and 1972: Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South 464

43. Employment Characteristics in North and South Counties: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors, 1950-1970 465

44. Employment Characteristics: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors in North and South Counties, 1970 466

45. Welfare Assistance in Three Winter Garden Counties Compared With North and South Counties, 1972 467

46. Welfare Assistance Through Medical Aid--Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties, 1972 468

47. Government Payments to Farmers-Ranchers in Three Winter Garden Counties Compared With North and South Counties, 1968-1972 469

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The major objective of this research is to describe the history of, and conceptually account for, the development of an ethnic power struggle in two South Texas towns in which the control of schools plays a primary role. The primary focus of the analysis is upon the way in which schools and school leadership have operated to maintain the subordinate power position of Mexican-Americans and the effect upon school leadership of Mexican-American attempts to gain control of the school boards. The two towns analyzed form part of a regional area experiencing significant changes in Anglo-American and Mexican-American relationships. The transformation is, on the one hand, a result of a long history of Mexican social and cultural subordination. On the other hand, it can be conceptualized as an ethnic socio-cultural revivication movement which, with varying degrees, consciously rejects many characteristics of the dominant Anglo population and deliberately seeks to politicize all Americans of Mexican descent in order to enhance the group's socio-economic position in the environment. The chief reference point for the movement in Texas has come to be Crystal City, where the movement, through the newly created La Raza Unida Party, has taken control of the formal political apparatus. Other towns in the region use Crystal City as a reference in measuring their own location on an ethnic power transformation scale. The control of schools is one of the key objects of competition between the two ethnic groups. Such competition heightens the consciousness of the actors and provides an excellent opportunity to specify the cultural values and meanings attached to schools by both ethnic units and test a number of issues existent in educational research, such as the extent to which school systems are "open" or "closed," the relative control of schools exerted by locals versus professionals, and the effect of state and federal controls upon school governance. Historically the Anglos have controlled the school boards, the administrative positions, the faculty (with a few exceptions), and student leadership offices and awards.

First, the analysis describes the way in which the Mexican-American units in the two towns interpret the historic relations with the Anglos, their changing self-concept, and the use of schools in the present transformation. Secondly, the analysis describes the way in which the Anglo units interpret the historic relations with the Mexican-Americans, the present "movement" of the Mexican-Americans and their response to it. Thirdly, the analysis will specifically focus on the responsive behavior of the school leadership in the preceding context, that is, the manner in which the leadership attempts to survive and the sociocultural brokerage role each unit attempts to play. Fourthly, the analysis will specify the local school-community articulations with federal and state level units and the impact this has had upon the transformation of local ethnic relations.

The Relationship of Educational and Social Science Literature to Ethnic Competition for the Control of Schools

It has not been traditional for educators or the general public in America to view formal education as reflecting local, state, and federal level processes. The tendency has been to conceptualize the schooling sector as what McCarty calls a "privileged sanctuary" (1971:7). Although McCarty is speaking organizationally, there is implicit in this perception an analogy to what Bertalanffy (1968:39 f.) defines as a "closed-system"; i.e. systems which are conceived to be isolated from their environment. This leads to the corollary concept of the "open-system" as one which maintains itself through a constant input and output process of energy--in the case of educational systems, this would mean that the source of values, goals, behavior, etc., are derived, maintained, and nurtured in extra-organizational sectors. McCarty is directing attention to the fact that historically there has developed the tendency to perceive educational systems as closed, i.e. not dependent upon its extra-organizational environment for its valued commodities. First, such a perception of the schools is grounded historically in a classical concept of education as being politically neutral, i.e., not representing any group's socio-economic interests. Katz (1968) goes a long way in dispelling such a myth in his historical analysis of attempts at educational reform in America since the mid-19th century. He makes a convincing case for the rise of mass American education as representing the needs of industry and the inability to reform the institutionalized schooling process as reflecting the conservative elements of the social system. Secondly, the development of mass public education has given rise to a strong professional bureaucracy, which has been and still is, a concomitant force creating and maintaining the "privileged sanctuary."

The literature describing the organizational methods of maintaining the educational apparatus, from the closed system point of view, is vast. Most relate to the problem of organizational behavior for facilitating internal relations (cf. Bogue 1969; Browne 1958; Cunningham and Gephart 1973; Fielder 1967). Gross, et. al., (1958, and Sayan and Charters (1970) are examples of the attempt to use the concepts of the social sciences in clarifying schooling's organizational behavior by focusing on the principal and superintendent roles.

The last 20 years has witnessed an increased proliferation of material relating the educational schooling system to political articulations. The material generally falls into two categories, those describing the manner in which school personnel can organizationally tap the resources of the political apparatus (Baily 1962; Hunt 1968; Pierce 1968) and those describing schools as a political entity within the cybernetic flow of the total social system. The works related to the latter classification will be discussed in some detail since this is the focus of the present work. It should be noted that the former works, or those related to organizational relations with political sectors, although presenting an implicit conception of schooling as organizationally related to political units, still tend to maintain the "closed system" bias of the past. Hunt (1968) is polemical in encouraging school administrators to be familiar with power studies as an organizational maintenance strategy. Pierce (1968), while describing the role of the Educational Commission of the States as an attempt to shore up the schooling structures at the state level, also encourages educators to be involved in politics. These are representatives of the tendency exhibited by educational literature toward organizational maintenance, i.e., the nuts and bolts of using the political sector for increased funding, etc. The basic reasons for such interest stems from the educators' use of management methods and increased pressure from the political sectors. Campbell (1959) indicates that schooling has always been characterized by a local-state-federal articulation and that the ideology of local control is a myth that needs to be given up. Campbell and Layton (1968) describe the historical relationships between state educational departments and the federal government as increased financial and policy inputs from the federal level increased the organizational effort of states in handling such relationships. This has been especially true since the Education Act of 1965. Both Burdin (1968) and Thackry (1968) join Campbell and Layton (1968) in describing the results of the increased political articulations, i.e. (1) an increasing number of educational associations more visibly working in the political areas at the Federal level; (2) expanded staffs and more aggressive leadership by educational organizations; (3) more cooperative efforts by all educational segments of the organizational sector (which increases their power in dealing with the Federal apparatus); and (4) a broadening of concerns beyond that of the narrow historical field of education.

There is a body of literature directed toward organizational maintenance and expansion, given the preceding problems of increased state and federal controls. For example, Lee (1970) describes how educational groups can influence Federal level policy; Usdan (1970) analyzes the seeming disarray of the state apparatus to function and the encroachment of the Federal unit; Guthrie (1970) describes the problem in terms of lack of cooperation between urban and non-urban educational entities which results in political ineptitude when dealing with the political units; Hall (1971) chronicles the socio-political problems associated with the process of desegregation and advice to the school administrator on leadership strategy; and Moore (1971) describes the problems of inter-organizational competition and the resultant need for cooperation in order to facilitate educational goals. Stimbert (1971:10) characterizes the general tenor of this particular body of material:

> We face enormously complex issues, problems, and opportunities, and we will have to use unprecedentedly powerful means to respond to them. I contend that one of those extremely powerful means is found in the political component of our society. The word political must be defined as all planning and policy making in addition to the usual concept of electing officials. This extremely broad definition, which we must use if we are going to make our confrontation realistic and effective, means "beefing up" the public relations and personnel relations programs. It means really becoming involved as organizational arrangements through which decisions are made and policies are carried out become even more interlocked.

This literature indicates that the educational sector still tends to view itself as a fairly closed-system which is experiencing some painfully disturbing intrusions.

These are generally regarded as creating a dis-equilibrium which can be overcome with proper organizational skills. The focus is almost totally upon the educational or schooling organization and not the socio-cultural environment.

The second trend in educational literature relating to the problems of school-society interrelationships falls into the category specified earlier as perceiving schools as a political entity within the cybernetic[1] flow of the total social system. It is this corpus of literature that is most relevant to the present analysis. McCarty (1971:7) reflects this perspective well by describing schools as "political subdivisions" of local governments which reflect the values of the ruling elites. The result is that schools are not equal in their educational production. Some writers, like Bowles (1968), describe the phenomenon as a transition from the consensus politics of the professional priesthood to the conflict politics of the public marketplace.

The 1950's marked the beginning of attempts to utilize the methods of the social sciences to determine the relationship between the school system and the other sectors of the social system, or an open-system concept. There were some early school board studies which attempted to specify sociological composition, i.e., stratification, political bias (conservative vs. liberal bias), occupation, etc. (cf. Counts 1927; Arnett 1932). The purpose was to determine a correlation between a type of board member and school administration performances judged on an ambiguous progressive-conservative scale. Arnett's (1932) study was an attempt to test a hypothesis by Cubberley that manufacturers, merchants, and bankers are generally progressive as board members. Arnett found that their conservative tendencies tended to inhibit their relationship to educational experts (professionals). Stapley's (1957) analysis of school board membership was more delicate in specifying the inability of members to address themselves to educational goals. There was a dominant tendency for members to perceive their role in management terms, i.e., expenditures and taxation, hiring the superintendent, etc. It was Stapley's contention that the process of hiring a superintendent provides a good opportunity to clarify educational goals for the whole community. Instead, the focus is upon the managerial qualities of the superintendent. A recent study conducted by the Educational Research Service (1972) was totally concerned with providing a construct of the organizational composition (ideal type) of the "typical" urban school board--such data as how the members are elected, regularity of meetings, and so forth. This latter study does not fulfill the requirements for an open-system, but it does represent the continuing interest in research on the subject of social relationship.

Educational researchers in the 1950's began to inspect the power relations of the schools with other local and upper-level political units. The community studies of the social sciences seem to have initiated educators' interest in community power relations. In order to clarify the full impact of community studies upon educational research during the last several decades, the following provides a brief and succinct review of the community literature and the educational researcher's response to such. First, the review reveals the need for further studies at the local level which will specify the linkage between the schools and local social units--especially the way in which local social relations and cultural meaning systems (world views) are transmitted in the schools. This is accompanied by the need to account for the degree to which state and federal units influence the local school-community articulations. Secondly, the review reveals the paucity of research that accounts for ethnic conflict and change at the local level, especially related to the control of schools. Thirdly, there is a need to clarify a number of concepts in order to more clearly describe and account for the type of ethnic socio-cultural conflict and change that is taking place in North and South Towns--especially power, culture, community, and brokerage.

The writer makes no attempt at an exhaustive recapitulation of the community literature because there are a number of critical treatments (cf. Bell and Newby 1972; Minar and Greer 1969; Warren 1966, 1963; Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 1967). Hawley and Svara (1972) provide a good bibliographic review of the community power studies.

Community Studies

The most famous of the early community studies was conducted by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd (1929; 1937). The first Middletown (1929), was an attempt to apply anthropological methods to an American community, Muncie, Indiana. The work was purely descriptive with no attempt to draw theoretical conclusions. The Lynds revisited Muncie ten years later and attempted to describe the changes that had taken place in the context of the depression. Their study is a classic in terms of its fullness synchronically and diachronically.

Warner's study of Yankee City (1941) is an exhaustive examination of the small New England community of Newsburyport. Having spent several years studying some aboriginal groups in Australia, Warner searched for a community which seemed to represent an integrated whole, i.e., as opposed to a satellite community (cf. Bell and Newby 1927: 103f). Warner's study is probably most famous for his stratification categories. In fact, his critics seize upon these categories for their criticism (ibid.). Warner seems to have imposed an economic class structure upon Yankee City which he uses to account for all behavior.

Both the Lynds and Warner describe the control of schools and other formal institutions as in the hands of a socio-economic elite who tend to share values and objectives. No consideration is given to the informal factors that might be operating behind the visible leadership. No decisive attempt is made to develop a concept of power in other than terms of influence along economic class lines. It was Floyd Hunter's 1953 study of Regional City that stimulated the mass of studies attempting to build theory along community lines. Hunter used a "reputational" approach in locating the forty influentials who became the focus of the study. The interaction of the influentials was mapped sociometrically, and the analysts used these data to draw conclusions about the superordinate-subordinate relationships among community members. Hunter concluded that Regional City (Atlanta, Georgia) was really controlled by a fairly small and cohesive economic elite whose activities were not always visible to the rest of the City. The community studies conducted in the 1950's used Hunter's methodology in attempting to account for the social operation of communities. Dozens of studies have been made using Hunter's reputational method and substantiating the elitist position (cf. Bell and Newby 1972; for a good critique of these studies on both sides of the Atlantic).

In the early 1960's Robert Dahl (1961) published a study of New Haven which arrived at quite opposite conclusions. Dahl indicated that New Haven, far from being orchestrated by a small ruling elite, was in fact held together by a composite of factions. For historical reasons, economic and social power holders (decision makers) gradually played a decreasing role in community decisions. The analysis was based on the decision-making processes in three areas (urban redevelopment, education and choices for political candidates), plus interviews with perceived key participants and a random sample of voters. Such methods lead Dahl to conclude that power is spread throughout the community, and thus began the "pluralist" model of community power structures.

Most of the community studies to date tend to fall into one category or the other--the elitist or pluralist. Dahl's (1961:89) analogy regarding the blind man and the elephant seems fairly apropos in accounting for the different conclusions derived in building community theory to this point in time. However, Dahl conceives the problem of ambiguity residing in the distinction between ritual power and reality power. That is, leaders often surround their covert behavior with certain rituals of a democratic nature. Such behavior tends to disguise real power. There are writers who view the problem as one of methodology (cf. Agger et. al. 1964; Miller 1970; Walton 1969). Those who have found pluralistic systems have charged that the elite results are a product of analysts who have not observed the reputedly powerful in action. There is no attempt to reconstruct the total decision-making system. The results operate like a self-fulfilling prophecy. In the pluralists' charge is their assumption that elites are the recipients of allocated power from lower levels of the community. On the other hand, it has been charged that pluralists have not used comparative material to assess sufficiently the degree of pluralism or elitism in the distribution of political power (Agger et al., 1964: 75f).

Studies of communities, and especially those precisely dealing with power, have used three distinct approaches--reputational, positional, and decision-making. Analysts using the reputational approach ask certain key informants to identify the most influential people in the community, essentially a ranking process. One of the key problems in such a process is choosing the panel of judges. In the positional approach, those occupying positions in formal and certain specified informal organizations are assumed to be the leaders. The basic problem with this approach is choosing the informal organizations and the failure to recognize the possibility that power is a feature of all relationships (cf. Adams 1970; Bonilla and Michelena 1967). Greer and Orleans (1962) try to solve this problem by defining such "informal" units that one might encounter in the positional analysis as "para-political," i.e., having some degree of political influence. This still seems to beg the question. A further problem seems to be the ambiguity of the source of power, which is ill-defined, and which reflects a lack of rigor in the use of the power concept. Ultimately the positional approach is reduced to a reputational choice. It might be that some conceptual distinction needs to be devised to distinguish between ascribed and achieved influence. Nonetheless, in both approaches the community power structure is described in terms of how "office statuses" are ranked.

The analysis of decision-making, described earlier, focuses on specific community issues and the leaders are assumed to be those able to influence the solution. There is an absence of opportunities for observing the complete range of interactions leading to an eventual decision. A further problem is distinguishing between the visible and the invisible influentials or "power-wielders." There is sufficient ambiguity inherent in the decision-making approach to place it in the same questionable category as the reputational and positional methods.

The present trend in community research is developing along two lines, both of which are attempting to describe and differentiate the salient aspects of various community power structures. First, there is an attempt to develop an eclectic approach in multi-community longitudinal studies. Most of the studies prior to the 1960's were limited to one or two localities. (Agger et al., 1964; Bonjean 1970; Presthus 1964). Second, there is an attempt to understand the community and account for its behavior as a socio-political unit within the framework of a larger State-Nation system. The basic assumption of the extra-community studies is that there is an historical movement toward the loss of community autonomy and, hence, an increased loss of control. With the increasing subordination of the local community, there is an ensuing change in the normative order. Warren (1963) maintains that American communities are undergoing a drastic transformation of structure and function. His argument is understood to mean that an increased orientation toward extra-local community systems will be associated with a concomitant decline in local cohesion and self-direction (cf. Banfield 1965; Gilbert 1967; Long 1962). At best the trends are away from the more mechanistic assumptions inherent in the closed systems perspective so characteristic of many of the previous community studies. There are a number of works which attempt to account for this phenomena. (cf. Warren 1966; French 1969). One of the most interesting is Vidich and Bensmen's (1958) analysis of daily life in Springdale, a small upper

New York State town. Emphasis was upon the articulations with upper level political units and the subsequent loss of power by locals in controlling the life of the community.

Easton's (1965) approach is a good example of the open systems model. His basic premises are (23f): (1) that "it is useful to view political life as a system of behavior"; (2) that "a system is distinguishable from the environment in which it exists and open to influence from it"; (3) that variations of response within a structure and the processes within a system may be defined as constructive alternatives by members to cope with the stress input from environmental as well as internal sources; and, (4) that feedback is the capacity of a system to persist in the midst of stress and is a function of the information and other influences that return to its actors and decision makers.

Although his first two premises are embedded in other extra local lèvel approaches, the third and fourth are explicit system concepts. It seems that such an approach is far more productive than the mechanistic one in attempting to understand the processes by which any unit (community, state, nation) is trying to cope with environmental stresses, internal or external.

The studies and materials published in the field of educational politics tend to reflect the results and dilemmas of community studies and yet, pick up where the earlier studies left off, that is, the educator attempts to account for school leaders via such categories as class structures. The literature tends to be typified by the elitist-pluralist debate over methodology (cf. Kimborough 1964; Gittell and Hollander 1969). As mentioned earlier there is a conceptual problem inherent in all of this material. The concepts of power and influence, or decision-making, are not very clear. However, there is a great deal of utility in the open-system perspective represented by Easton and associated conceptualizations, which represent the second trend in community studies. Such a model, when applied to ethnic conflict over control of schools in South Texas, clarifies school leadership behavior far more efficiently than would the traditional closed-system, or organizational model.

There are a number of works attempting to synthesize the results of community studies and their narrower application to the schooling process (Campbell 1970; Cunningham 1971; Iannaccone and Lutz 1970; Kimborough 1964; Cahill and Hencley 1964; and Rosenthal 1969). There is also a small, but significant number of cases where the researcher conceptualizes the school as part of an open-system, that is, within the input/output linkage of a state and federal system. However, the approach has been to apply this perspective to a formal-organizational conceptual apparatus.

That is, the trend has been to continue conceiving sociological behavior of schools in terms of roles, norms, positive and negative sanctions, etc. The open-system perspective is beneficial to the present analysis but not the attached conceptual apparatus. It would be far more productive to identify the meanings ascribed to certain behaviors of school leadership, that is, the culture which specifies behavior.

Cooper (1965) uses the open-system perspective and views the school and its relationship to the locality, state, and federal units as analogous to a tiered marble cake. Such an effect, according to Cooper, is a creation of the depression, world wars, the school desegregation traumas of the past decades, and a growing national economy. Such pressures have forced the federal and state units into a greater coordinating role. Further reasons listed by Cooper (Ibid.) for an increase of state and federal control are: the federal court's negation of religion in schools, the compulsory flag salute, teacher loyalty oaths, and legislative investigation of educator's political beliefs. Campbell and Bunnell (1965) follow Cooper's lead and describe the impact of the upper levels as being represented in such programs as the National Merit scholarship program, the National Defense Education Act, the National Science Fellowship, college entrance exams, and especially the Education Act of 1965 and the subsequent programs. Campbell and Bunnell (1963:26f) provide a good historical account for the precedence of Federal involvement in local schooling. In another source Campbell (1959) speaks of local control of schools as a piece of folklore. Zeigler (1972) and Martin (1970) also support the notion that upper level control of schooling is a fait accompli. Yet, Campbell (1970) is careful to delineate the nature of the local-upper level articulations juridically. He describes the State legislature as historically functioning as a "big" school board. The State operates within a system of legal constraints, i.e., the State and Federal Constitutions. It is his opinion that there is little policy-making power at the State level other than to establish minimums, such as length of schooling, curriculum, certification of teachers, and a policing function to see that minimums are followed. The local school district is the basic administrative unit, has taxing power and the right to make contracts, etc. However, while there is clearly an increase in the control, upper level units exert, there is a need to specify empirically the exact results of such.

Not all scholars are willing to concede that state and federal units are as significant to local school control as the preceding might indicate. Iannaccone and Lutz (1970) contend that a paradox exists. That is, while it is true that the local school district is politically encased by upper level units, it is also true that the school is "nearer" to local control than any other major public service. Most districts are organizationally autonomous from other political units and often overlap several and also have a separate board and bond election. In fact, Iannaccone and Lutz view the local district as enclosed in a civic cocoon which protects the district from outside forces. They even speak of the local school district as operating in a closed-system. The present analysis will indicate that this not only overstates the case for local schools, but is a misuse of the closed system concept.

Minar (1964) is another scholar concerned with the extent of local school autonomy. He argues that the organization and ideology of the local school system is symbolically a discrete unit within the local political context, that is, the schools and the municipality do not occupy the same political space. To support his premise he maintains that it is necessary to view educational power in terms of who "actually" influences policy. He concluded that the school superintendent is the primary culprit. Such a contention has heuristic value for the present analysis. It will be of great interest to see whether the superintendents in North and South Town are as autonomous as Minar would have us believe.

Cunningham (1971) and Wirt (1972) join the growing chorus of those who perceive the local schools as encapsulated in the social system. Cunningham (1971) is critical of the extant community studies because few attempts have been made to analyze educational decisions specifically. This ignores the uniqueness of schools as a governing unit. Cunningham thinks that the dimensions of local control are narrower than most generally think. Wirt (1972) perceives the myth of the non-political nature of schools as providing a handy mechanism for the control by the professional personnel, a view which has heuristic value. Iannaccone (1967) supports Wirt's contention. In fact, Iannaccone thinks that it is dangerous to continue the myth that educational politics is somehow different in kind from the party politics of the State and Federal units. Such a myth operates to the advantage of the school personnel.

A perusal of the literature indicates the great need for research at the local level not only to describe the local power relationships, but the state and federal (upper-levels) as well. There is an increasing amount of work being conducted. One analyst deserving of note is Keith Goldhammer. In 1955 Goldhammer published a study of a small Oregon community's school board. He was interested in the formal and informal behavior of board members, especially the way in which members were related to the local community power clique. He found that the board members were generally self-perpetuating, but this was contingent upon the good graces of the local power elites, voter apathy, and the ability of the local elites to maintain themselves against opposition. Goldhammer's findings are similar to those of Vidich and Bensman (1958). Vidich and Bensman indicate that the school board was a key focal point for many of the community's most far-reaching decisions. This was undoubtedly because the school system was the largest industry and had the largest budget in town.

As a reflection of the interest of social scientists in constructing community power systems, there have been attempts in educational politics to type educational systems and community power systems. Roe Johns and Ralph Kimborough's (1968) analysis of 122 school districts in four states (Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky) is one of the most extensive longitudinal studies to date. Their focus was on the fiscal policy in districts above 20,000 population and the power system relationships. They found that (1) the power structures in low financial effort districts are more monopolistic than those in high-effort districts; (2) that school administrators in high financial-effort districts are more politically active in resolving educational and community problems than those in low-effort districts;

(3) that the tenure of board members and administrators is shorter in the competitive, as opposed to the monopolistic power structure; (4) that power structures of low-effort districts are controlled by elites from the economic sector more so than in high effort districts; (5) that leadership in high effort districts has a tendency to be provided by those from political categories, and (6) that community elites in low effort districts tend to create closed social systems in contrast to the open system created in high effort districts. This study is conceptualized on the basis of an earlier study of two Florida communities by Kimborough (1964). Using the same methods in both locales, the analysts found that one community had a monopolistic (elitist) power structure and the other a competitive (pluralistic) one. Kimborough's basic thesis was that schools are dominated by a covert elite in those communities having a generalist type leadership. He agrees with Vidich and Bensman (1958) that power is generally monopolistic and pyramidal. When there is competition on the pluralistic model, it usually marks a transition phase between stable periods of monopoly. The treatment of power competition as a sporadic phenomena contributes to the general ambiguity of the power concept and in turn biases the results. This problem will be discussed in a later section.

Minar (1970) makes a similar attempt to relate power structures to school administration. He uses context, policy, and political process as the basic units, utilizing Easton's systems model. By assuming a pluralistic perspective, Minar attempts to test the Easton model and determine the effects of social structure on the political system by analyzing the variations in styles and content of decision-making processes of school systems whose social structures differ. Briefly, he concluded that low-conflict school systems apply organizational skills to pressure and decision-making areas. This in turn gives high value to the technical role of school personnel. On the other hand, high conflict systems reflect the opposite decision-making process, i.e., yielding to the loudest voices and ignoring school personnel.

There is theoretical utility in much of the politics of education research described. It does contribute to a theory accounting for the inter-relations between the schooling system and the larger political context, and does provide schooling personnel with some incipient ideas of what to expect given certain political contexts. There is still much that needs to be done in building such models, with the methodological problems inherent in analyzing communities.

A different approach was used by Donald McCarty (1959) in attempting to account for school board members' reason for seeking membership on the school board.

McCarty's analysis of board members in seven communities in two states, Illinois and Wisconsin, found that 46% claimed to have sought membership out of civic responsibility, 13% were responding to social prestige, and 10% to dissatisfaction with former members. Using this data and community analysis, McCarty attempted to make correlations between motivation and the degree of friction existent on the school board. He found that a board comprised of members who responded to the civic values had less friction during the board's operation than did those comprised of members operating out of social prestige or political vengeance. Using what might be called a social-psychological analysis, McCarty postulates several board-superintendent relationships: (1) a board dominated by a strong member will result in a weak superintendent; (2) a rational board, where policies are discussed and all members have equal inputs will result in a superintendent with a wide operational latitude; (3) a "log-rolling" board (always attempting to steer a middle of the road course) will result in a superintendent who is always reacting to shifting factions; and (4) a factional board, controlled by majority votes, will result in a superintendent who is always caught between the factions and hence, paralyzed.

Although the questions of who controls the schools and how certain power systems effect certain types of school leadership responses are crucial, there is the concomitant issue of educational content. What is being protected by power units? The debate over who governs has heuristic value for the content of schooling. As Long (1972:23) states, "If Hunter is correct, an elite of economic dominants not holding official positions largely determine important educational policy as well as other types of local government policy." The implications of who governs may be implicit in the community power studies, but this fact needs to be made explicit--especially with relation to control of schools. It is Kerr's (1969) contention that school boards chiefly function to legitimate school policy for the local community and not visa versa. The question remains as to the sources of the values supposedly communicated by schools. Hess and Torney (1967) indicate that there is indeed a political socialization process which takes place in schools. John Meyer (1972:126) states that it is through schooling that elites attempt to "emancipate the citizenry" in the modernization process, but there is need for further research. It may be true, as Cooper (1965) specified, that the schooling environment communicates patriotism, a goal orientation, organizational behavior, cooperation, and success through the competition for grades and school awards. The issue of valued educational objects is of central importance to the present analysis, i.e., ethnic conflict over schools and school leadership. Current research by Foley, Lozano and Smith in the south Texas region focuses on the socio-cultural dimensions of multi-ethnic schooling in relation to the cultural features of ethnic power articulations. Using a combination of Foley's (1973) concept of schooling in an internal colonial system, Smith's notion about the power dimensions of ethnic identity criteria, and Illich-Freine perspective on schooling, the project is designed to analyze cultural transmission within a contemporary Chicano controlled school system. The ethnography of the schooling domain is placed within the context of the historical evolution of power differences among Anglos and Mexican-Americans. It is of great importance to know why people are competing for control of schools. It is of great interest to determine how, for example, different ethnic units perceive the use of schools in their competition for control. Are there certain values being transmitted that function to maintain an ethnic superordinate-subordinate socio-cultural relationship?

Crain's (1968) study of eight northern and eight southern cities in relation to the power process of desegregation does not address this issue, but is the only major study that attempts to understand the conflict of ethnic politics. Crain and associates attempted to determine the relationship of school decision-making to community power structures with regard to the desegregation issue. They found that boards in the 16 cities were generally able to act independently--only in Newark did the Mayor intervene. The study also indicated a real schism between the professional school personnel and board members. The professionals tended to defend the traditional status quo and ideology that schools are not socio-political institutions, and they generally reacted negatively to lay criticism. The key variable effecting the handling of the desegregation issue was the manner in which board members were chosen. Crain found that boards whose members were elected were more fractured and less responsive to the public. In terms of community power structures, Crain found that the monopolistic type tended to produce a highly militant civil rights movement, while the presence of economic black elites tended to be more symbolic and diffuse in their demands. Since it was the monopolistic white elite structures, composed of members of the business sector, which proved to be most responsive to change, Crain rejects Counts' (1927) notion which assumed that any change that takes place in the schools would only be the result of blue collar workers taking over the school boards. It should be noted that Counts (Ibid.) was judging change on liberal-conservative continuum. That is, the business sector was supposed to be maintaining the status quo within the school system by continuing to operate according to the same curriculum, texts, and the hiring of professional personnel that shared their value orientations, etc. Their believed goal of education was to produce persons for the business sector. It was Counts' belief that blue-collar workers, by virtue of working in a different sector of the market place, would make the changes necessary to make schooling broader in its goals. Since Counts' (1927) study there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the previous category of "blue-collar" is really composed of diverse aggregates and that such are not the "revolutionary" agents once believed.

Summary and Interpretation: Community and Educational Studies

The preceding discussion regarding community studies and the related educational material clarifies several issues to this point. First, educational politics is caught in the same dilemmas as community studies. That is, there are problems of methodology and inadequate concepts. The preceding demonstrates that although a great deal of educational research is concerned with its own organizational maintenance in the face of increased extra-organizational controls, there are a significant number of attempts to clarify the relationship between what goes on in school systems and their environment. This has led educational researchers to uncritically mimic the methods of the social sciences. Thus educational research has fallen victim to the same elitist-pluralist plague. Future research needs to avoid this methodological dead-end street through a more eclectic approach. Above all, there is truth to Kerr (1969) and Charter's (1955) contention that purely descriptive investigations of the socio-economic profiles of school leaders has not been very useful.

This means, first, an approach that operates out of an open-system perspective. That is, one has to start with the assumption that all socially bounded units (the individual, family, age groups, organizations of all types, political and economic units, communities, states, and nations) exist "by virtue of" the fact that they are linked with all other units at the local, state, federal, and international conceptual levels. This linkage involves the transmission of information as well as "things." In treating the subject of schools in this context it is very important to specify not only "what" is being transmitted to each discrete unit of school leadership, but its source and use. This means that there is a heuristic need to identify the different groups, or units, that are competing for control of schools, and the system of ideas that each unit possesses regarding their actions. This aspect of the present analysis is developed more fully in a later section, but is relevant here because the previous literature reviewed begs the need for this kind of information. It is vitally important to further educational research to not only describe each unit but why each is acting the way it is and what are the implications of such unit's beliefs for what goes on in the schools. An example of this can be seen in a study by Wax and Wax (1971). Their analysis of schooling on a Sioux reservation indicated that the federal unit's control resulted in an educational program that was counter-productive for local Indians. That is, the curriculum was not what they wanted and felt they needed.

Secondly, the community studies and the concomitant educational research reviewed shared a number of concepts that are so vaguely used that they have become part of the problem. First, the concept of power refers to the notion of making decisions. It is sometimes used as a "thing within itself," rather than a source to be used for greater control of the environment (cf. Adams 1970). Again, the concept of community is applied in an ambiguous fashion. There is no real agreement as to the nature of a "community" (Bell and Newby 1972:27f). There is the additional dependence upon traditional organizational concepts, such as norms, roles, etc., which seem to force the data into a product that may not be as accurate as possible. It is the writer's hunch that this is the case.

The following section will attempt to overcome some of the methodological and conceptual problems reported in the previous material. It will be noted that the conceptual apparatus developed in this section relies heavily upon the developments in anthropology. Since most of the concepts used in the analysis have a history of usage the writer has often found it necessary to specify this in an attempt to clarify their application to the present analysis. Further, the writer has sometimes shown examples of their traditional application in an attempt to establish their utility for the present analysis.

Methodological and Conceptual Contributions

The Concept of Levels and Brokerage

The present analysis leans heavily upon developments in the field of anthropology because first, it is characterized by a distinct research method which is extremely useful to the present analysis and, second, anthropologists have developed a number of useful concepts which help to overcome some of the ambiguity previously mentioned. Traditionally anthropologists have focused on simple or non-industrial socio-cultural systems. Yet, it might be recalled that the Lynds (1929) were operating out of the holistic perspective of an ethnographic approach in their study of Middletown. Where anthropologists have worked in complex systems the tendency has been to continue traditional concerns and methods along with all the previously used conceptual tools (cf. Leeds 1968:31f). However, several anthropologists working in complex societies have suggested concepts useful to the present task.

First, Julian Steward (1965; 1968) believed that there was a difference in the type of phenomena found in the life of the local community, or village, as opposed to that which operates at a higher plane, such as a state or nation. He used the term "level" to indicate the conceptual difference between such phenomena. However, there is an interrelationship between each conceptually distinct level, or a set of linkages which tie them together. Steward's study of Puerto Rico was one of the first attempts to account for this relationship. He developed the notion of "levels of integration" and used the idea of "institutions" to conceptualize the phenomenon at the upper level but did very little to conceptually account for the linkage system which ties levels together. This precipitates the epistemological question of determining a level. According to Adams (1970:32), Steward felt that anthropologists should leave research of upper level phenomena to other disciplines.

Eric Wolf (1965) attempted to overcome the problem encountered by Steward by conceiving complex social systems as networked relationships which are linked together by "brokers." The concept of the broker as one who "carries" and "transmits" information will be extremely useful for the present analysis. However, the present study will attempt to distinguish between a "culture broker" and a "power broker." A culture broker will be one who transmits a new meaning about something in the environment but who does not have access, or control, over some valued item which could operate to force compliance by the actors. All people "broker" culture when attempting to persuade another to accept some new idea. The most obvious examples of this process can be found in the roles of parents, teachers, and ministers. On the other hand, a "power broker" will refer to a unit's use or threatened use of force to elicit certain behavior, without a change of beliefs being affected. For example, an attorney represents a client, B, who is in a subordinate power position to another, A. Possibly A is using his superior power to extort money from B. The attorney is able, so B hopes, to bring the threatened use of the judicial system--police, jail, fines, and so forth--to bear upon A and thereby change the power relations between B and A. Thus, the attorney is conceptually a "power broker." In this case A does not necessarily change his belief about B.

In this context the analysis will be especially interested to note what and how various units in the two communities are "brokering" on the local scene. Such units are the school boards, teachers, administrative personnel, non-school citizens of both ethnic categories, and regional, state, and federal level agencies.

There are a number of other macro-level studies by anthropologists (cf. Bennett 1967; Bonilla and Michelena 1967; Izmirlean 1969), but little appears that provides an adequate conceptual apparatus in accounting for the socio-cultural features which emerge in the present investigation. One exception is the work of Richard Adams (1970) and this will receive special treatment in the discussion of "power."

The Concept of Community

One of the problems in the plethera of community studies has been the lack of clarity and general acceptance by analysts of the concept "community." Leeds (1970) postulates a concept of community as locality, which overcomes some of the previous ambiguity. Every analyst tends to have his own notion of what constitutes a community. A good discussion of this problem can be found in Bell and Newby (1972:27f). About the only consistent agreement is that a community is made up of people. First, Leeds (1970:5f) clarifies the relationship between the community and any higher units by replacing the concept "community" with that of *locality*. The *locality* is a "sensorily distinct loci of organization characterized by such things as more or less permanent aggregates of people or aggregates of houses, generally surrounded by and including relatively empty, though not necessarily unused, spaces" (*Ibid.*). It also follows, according to Leeds, that the *locality* is a "node of interaction," a "place of greatest density and widest variety of categories of human behavior between it and the next locality" (1970:6). Further, *localities* are ecological entities, that is, populations linked to a particular physical environment, with all of the resources inherent in that environment.

The inhabitants of the *locality* are systematically linked through diverse types of relationships, such as kinship, etc. (cf. 1970:7f). In order to deal with the daily necessities of living (adaptive activity) people employ one or more of these links. The linkage system as a whole is very flexible, so that Leeds (1970:10f) feels that we ought to be able to observe some significant degree of continuity in the physical and social ordering at the *locality* level.

The *locality* is only one unit within the framework of what Leeds (1970:11) calls a "nested hierarchy." Yet, Leeds sees the *locality* as being a locus of power, vis-à-vis the linkage system indicated above, which enables the inhabitants to either cooperate or resist cooperation when they desire. Thus, Leeds sees the locality as being a locus of "power," which gives it its autonomy. Such autonomy means for Leeds that the locality has a more observable continuity than do supra-local institutions.

The Holistic Perspective and the Ethnographic Method

It seems to the writer that anthropology's holistic emphasis and the related method of ethnography contributes heavily to the present analysis. First, the holistic principle stipulates that a person or population unit, has a totality or Gestalt that is distinct and unique and cannot be properly understood without describing the entire field of its relations. The description, or ethnography, of the particular population classically utilizes a field study method which means that the analyst is a participant observer within the population's socio-cultural activity. One of the chief areas of concern represented in the earlier review of the literature related to the question of an open- versus closed-system, approach. This is in contrast to the sociologist's and educator's habit of piecemeal or micro types of studies. Concomitantly, anthropologists have traditionally attempted to describe as fully as possible the rules (norms, values, etc.) which govern the interaction of a system's members. These preceding attributes are especially relevant to the South Texas analysis. That is, there is a holistic, or open-system, dimension to a profitable understanding of the conflict for control of local schools. Secondly, such conflict behavior is directly related to the meanings and rules (culture) that guide people's behavior. Thirdly, an ethnographic field-work technique was used to gather the data necessary to understand the local problems.

It is not the writer's intent to mislead the reader into thinking that the present analysis is the first attempt to use such anthropological tools in describing school behavior. There have been a number of attempts to apply the anthropological perspective and concepts to the problem of schooling in America. A brief excursion will indicate some of the contributions of several that relate to the general notion of change and the open-system perspective.

Harry Wolcott's (1969) ethnography of an elementary school principal provides good insight into the sociocultural dynamics of this particular role. It was Wolcott's aim to describe as fully as possible the total web of social encounters and the cultural themes related to such which occur in the course of a school term. The study is a fine contribution to our understanding of educational change. Wolcott observed that although the principal joined the chorus of those constantly crying for change, he ultimately, because of constant pressure to control the institution by reducing "variations," played the opposite role of system maintenance.

There is really a paucity of good studies which attempt to account for socio-cultural dimensions of the political control of schools. There are several, Barker & Gump (1964), Sarason (1971), Smith (1967;1969) who specify that an ecological framework exists for understanding and conceptualizing the behavior within schools. The basic thesis of the ecological approach is that it requires an analysis of the interrelationships between all components of the total school activity. A more traditional approach is taken by Burnett (1969) in studying the culture of a high school in the Middle West. It was her finding that the age-grading and ritual cycle of the school provided students with an adaptive device in urban culture similar to that of more simple systems, such as tribes. Jackson's (1968) study of teachers in Chicago examined the extent to which teachers effect the complex life of schools. Both of these studies make important contributions toward the methodology of ethnographic analysis in school, but offer no insights, as to the extra-organizational control system of the school.

There are other works that examine the socialization and enculturation function of the schools--in fact, this is the predominant view of the nature of schooling (cf. Lindquist 1970; Kneller 1964; Swift 1970; Middleton 1970).

With specific reference to the problem of the political and cultural dimensions of educational reform movements, the literature does not provide a great deal of help. Spindler (1970) and Wolcott (1967) use general notions of "traditional culture" to conceptualize the conflict with "modern" value orientations of schools. Polgar (1960), Thomas & Wahrhaftig (1971), and Grindell (1972) use the same conceptual frame to indicate how subordinate groups adapt to schools which are transmitting a dominant or "traditional" culture. These studies are important contributions to our understanding of the way in which subordinate ethnic groups have certain adaptive needs, vis-à-vis cultural tradition, that the alien school system is not able to provide. Such studies may provide an explicit clue to the initiating stimulus behind such reform movements as that of the Chicano. But no studies exist that attempt to conceptualize the competition between ethnic groups for control of schools as a political and cultural phenomena.

Although anthropological contributions to the political ramifications of schools havenot been as productive as one might have hoped, it has contributed to the methodological problems inherent in complex systems, such as community studies and analysis of school control. That is, there has been an historical insistence upon holisms, comparative analysis, and the ethnographic method of collecting data. More important anthropological contributions have been made in the construction of certain key concepts, such as culture and adaptation. Related to the present use and discussion of culture and adaptation are Adams' (1970) contribution to the clarification of "power," Wallace's concept of "revitalization" movements, and Barth's (1969) notion of "ethnic boundaries," to name a few. The remainder of the discussion will be an attempt to specify the content and utility of these concepts for the present analysis of two South Texas localities facing ethnic competition for control of the schools, as well as the control of other sectors of the local administrative apparatus.

The Concept of Culture and its Utility in Developing a Theory of Ethnic Relations

As specified earlier, the present analysis attempts to understand and describe ethnic conflict over the control of schools in two South Texas localities. There are two dimensions involved in this, and any other, behavior. That is, each similar social setting involves a set of social behaviors and a set of associated meanings, or cultural features. The analysis should deal with both of these phenomena if the conflict behavior of the various units is to be clearly understood. It is necessary in the present context to treat the concept of culture by showing some of the ways it has been used and contrast such usage with its employment in the present analysis. The brief critique of culture will be related specifically to the social dimensions of ethnic relations theory, which will signify its utility in the present study.

A search for a normative definition of culture is futile and points up the need for the present discussion to clarify its usage in the present context. Anthropologists have tried to avoid a commitment to any single dynamic for interpreting socio-cultural life and yet, still try to be broad enough to encompass all the significant aspects of the super-organic. There is no "theory" of culture. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) reviewed the existing literature for use of the culture concept and found over one hundred and sixty different delineations of the term "culture." The purpose of the present discussion is not to provide a history of the concept, for there are many such efforts (cf. Broce 1973; Harris 1968; Schusky and Gilbert 1967). Nor is the present task an attempt to resolve the conceptual dilemma of the use of "culture." Rather, it is the writer's intention to first provide a brief review of how one historical conceptualization of culture has been used in relation to developing ethnic theory, and secondly to set forth the concept with its associated features, as used in the present analysis.

There has been a general tendency in cultural anthropology toward a descriptive usage of the concept ethnographically, i.e., trait listings, attempts to account for diffusion of traits in order to show cultural evolutionary dependence and relationships. It was hoped that such trait analysis would lead to a better understanding of evolutionary processes. Out of such an approach were elaborated such constructs as the culture "area" by Clark Wissler (1917) and A. L. Koreber (1939), culture "core" by Steward (1955), and culture "patterns" by Benedict (1934). Such constructs tend to be deficient for the present analysis for several reasons. First, culture is primarily reified because people are conceived as passive participants, while traits are treated as having a life of their own irrespective of the context of origin. Such traits are seemingly transferable from one systemic context to another without damaging the recipient system nor the trait itself. Secondly, trait listings are endless and did not lead to the production of theory, which is the basic task of any science. The general tendency, fueled by trait analysis, has been to conceive of culture as a macro-level "thing-in-itself" (a Durkheimian abstraction) which victimizes people.

For example, a perusal of the literature regarding Mexican-American culture reveals that the trait concept of culture has predominated as the basic means for determining ethnic identity (cf. Grebler, et al. 1970; Burma 1970). Such a concept of culture is used to construct an acculturation-assimilation model in theorizing about interethnic relationships. For example, Grebler uses an Anglo cultural-trait model as a comparative device for identifying Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. The Mexican-American "group" is referred to as a socio-cultural minority whose social mobility is enhanced by their acceptance of more Anglo traits--work ethic, etc. Such trait acquisition is used to account for cultural diversity among Mexican-Americans. Further, the Anglo culture is located, most dynamically, in the large urban areas and the Mexican-Americans' rural settlement patterns are used to explain their inability to assimilate more rapidly. That is, their social isolation from urban Anglos inhibits assimilation, that is, acquiring Anglo traits. A generational continuum is used to support the thesis of assimilation. The elderly Mexican-Americans manifest more traditional traits.

Penalosa (1970) attempts to move away from this treatment somewhat, but, in the end, misleads us. He contends that there is no such thing as a Mexican-American culture (1970:41), but then moves to identify plurality, or variations, within the context of stratification theory, that is, such abstractions as middle-classness, blue-collar classness, and so forth. Hence, while calling for an end to conceptualizing the Mexican-American culture as a homogeneous unit he still maintains the traditional cultural trait concept. For example, he accounts for the intense cultural tenacity of many Mexican-Americans (use of language, etc.) in terms of the geographical proximity to Mexico.

Most theorists of ethnic relations operate out of the same tradition described above.[2] Robert Park (1950) is probably a classic in sociological literature. Park postulates a theoretical cycle of race relations composed of three stages--competition, accommodation, and assimilation. He assumes that assimilation is the end result. Blauner (1972) does an excellent job in applying this theory to an analogy. His position is that assimilationists' models rest on the idea that racial oppression is an aberration rather than a basic historical principle of American society. Closely correlated with the cultural assimilation model is the caste-class model. Warner (1945) and his students perceived assimilation as a natural outcome of inter-ethnic relations also, but accounted for the Black problem as one of classness, much similar to the Indian caste system. One of Warner's students, John Dollard (1957), did a study of a Southern town and supported this view. Oscar Lewis' (1961) "culture of poverty" is of the same conceptual mold. Casavantes'(1969) analysis of the Mexican-American uses the "culture of poverty" model and is a good example of its application in that ethnic sector. Blauner's (1972:4) point is that traditional ethnic relations theory is constructed on Tonnie's (Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft) and Durkheim's (Mechanical vs. organic solidarity) duality models. Such models tend to be mechanistic abstractions which fail to account for the dynamics of adaptive behavior at the local, phenomenological level.

There are several further disadvantages to the conceptual work described above. First, and maybe most importantly, is a methodological problem. That is, it is obvious that an analyst is at the mercy of his conceptual-theoretical framework. (Or put in colloquial terms, "What you see is what you get.") Secondly, the traditional usage of cultural traits is not productive in identifying ethnic groups and their dynamics. The models do not seem to be of much use in analyzing competition and change in South Texas.

Probably one of the most inhibiting factors involved in the previous explanatory models is the insistence upon national origin. Romano (1969), for example, accounts for the present culture of the Mexican-Americans in this manner. It is his contention that Mexican-Americans can best be understood if seen as the inheritors of three main philosophical (culture) historical strands, such as, Indianism, which involves the idea of a return to origins and symbolizes opposition to cultural assimilation; historical confrontation, which consists of needs for autonomy, confrontation and articulation, and underlies such manifest action as that taken by Pancho Villa, the labor movement of the Mexicanos, the separatism of the Pachucos, and the present Chicano movement; and cultural nationalism, a Mestizo-based philosophy emphasizing the multiple genetic and cultural genesis or the Mexicanos and containing humanistic and relativistic tendencies; however, to these three has been added a fourth historical strand, the immigrant experience. The immigrant experience has caused Mexicans to utilize a variety of means to live in an Anglo culture--thus creating diversity.

Barth (1969:9-38) tends to be critical of the traditional usage of the culture concept when used to build ethnic group theory. First, there is the "simplistic view that geographical and social isolation have been the critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity . . ." (Ibid., p. 9). Barth argues that ethnic groups persist, not as a result of isolation, but as a result of inter-ethnic relations which lead to the construction of phenomenological boundaries between such units. He finds the traditional definition of an ethnic group as lacking ability to account for cultural diversity at the lowest level, such as, ethnicity traditionally refers to (Barth 1969:10-11) a population that is (1) largely biologically self-perpetuating; (2) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; (3) makes up a field of communication and interaction; and (4) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. The basic objection Barth has to such a model is that it assumes to know what the fundamental elements are with relation to the origin, structure, and function of ethnic groups. It is Barth's (1969:11f) argument that cultural differentiation, even construction, is more productively understood as a result of inter-ethnic organization and not historically derived. The emphasis by Barth is upon those empirically derived cultural features utilized by the actors in social relationships for ethnic ascription and differentiation. It is Barth's premise (Ibid.;14f) that such ascription functions to maintain a "boundary" for organizational purposes. Further, (Ibid.):

> The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change--yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content.

> Socially relevant factors alone become diagnostic for membership, not the overt, "objective" differences which are generated by other factors. It makes no difference how dissimilar members may be in their overt behavior--if they say they are A, in contrast to another cognate category B, they are willing to be treated and let their own behavior be interpreted and judged as A's and not as B's; in other words, they declare their allegiance to the shared culture of A's. The effects of this, as compared to other factors influencing actual behavior, can then be made the object of investigation.

To rehearse the problem briefly, the traditional trait-analysis misleads the analyst when trying to account for change in a cultural system. That is, trait analysis would have the analyst examining the presence or absence of traits in relation to some dominant culture, such as the degree a statistical universe might measure the idea of machismo. For example, if a population sample of 500 reveals that 250 answer a question that fits the analyst's idea of male dominance, then these would be defined as traditional Mexicanos. Barth, however, contends that an ethnic culture is constructed at the local level by focusing on "environmentally relevant features," and the self-ascriptive nature of such identity construction. A person may identify himself, and be so identified by others, as a Mexican-American, and yet fail to manifest any number of traditional traits. In fact, what is often ironic, when viewed through traditional assimilations-immigration concepts, is that it is precisely those persons having more urban-Anglo socio-cultural experiences and investments that are the leaders (change agents) in ethnic movements.

To account for change more precisely Barth directs attention to the role of the entrepreneur, who is conceptually synonymous to the "broker" described earlier. The entrepreneurs

> produce new information on the interrelations of different categories of valued goods . . . The information produced by such activity will render false the ideal that people have held till then about the relative value of goods, and can reasonably be expected to precipitate reevaluations and modifications both of categorizations, and of value orientations. In other words, it changes the cultural basis that determine people's behavior, and in this way entrepreneurial activity becomes a major well-spring of cultural and social change. (1972:245).

Barth's concept of culture is an important contribution to the construct to be developed later. Important for understanding change is Barth's linkage of values with "goods." The value of goods and services is based on information about them. Entrepreneurs change the informational system of a cultural unit and their activity becomes a source of socio-cultural change. Again, what Barth is calling an entrepreneur the present conceptual apparatus designates as a "broker."

One of the most provocative attempts to conceptualize cultural change is Wallace's (1956) concept of revitalization. A revitalization movement is a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956:265). Such a concept shares a great deal with what has been conceived as nativism,[3] cargo cults,[4] and chailiasm.[5] A review of the literature indicates that revitalistic movements are generally religious in nature and occur under conditions of extreme societal stress. There have been some attempts to apply the concept to movements that have a decidedly political strain, such as O'Toole's (1973) treatment of Watts and South Africa, or Partridge's treatment of the hippie movement (1973).

In revitalization movements there is an initial stage where individuals, feeling intense distress, attempt to experiment with various techniques for relieving the stress. Wallace calls this stage, or process, mazeway reformulation (1956:266f):

> The mazeway is nature, society, culture, personality, and body image, as seen by one person . . . . Changing the mazeway involves changing the total Gestalt of his image of self, society, and culture, of nature and body, and of ways of action.

Interestingly, such persons are defined by Wallace as marginal, or less subject to the normative pattern of control and hence, more able to experiment. The second stage is cultural distortion, whereby the innovative individuals attempt to enlist others in the new mazeways and there is a resulting change in the cultural system.

An attempt to use this concept of revitalization in the context of the present analysis calls forth several problems.[6] First, there is no evidence from the present ethnographic data to indicate that the Mexican-Americans are dissatisfied with their culture--quite the contrary. Second, there is no indication that a significant religious definition is present in the present competition and cultural reformulations. Third, Wallace is using, at least implicitly, a concept of culture similar to the macro-level trait analysis delineated earlier. Fourth, and concomitant to the third, is Wallace's emphasis upon the single mazeway creator, who then effects the revitalization of the "whole" culture. The present analysis indicates a number of "elites" who are about the business of reformulating new socio-cultural meanings. Thus, Wallace does not account for ethnic diversity or a multiplicity of mazeways.

The present task, therefore, is to posit a concept of culture and concomitant features, which will not only maintain historical anthropological continuity for contributive theoretical purposes, but overcome some of the ambiguity of the past usage and gain further analytical precision in accounting for the ethnic conflict and change found in South Texas.

While British social anthropologists generally use "culture" when referring to a system of "meanings" (ideologies, values, weltenschauungs, etc.) shared by a particular population, American anthropologists add the social networks created by such shared meanings (cf. Cohen 1971:2; Freilich 1972; Leeds 1971:228f). Historically, in anthropology, the concept is intended to account for a distinct homo-sapiens evolutionary history. That is, whereas other biological forms adapt to particular environments (ecosystems, econiches, etc.) through genetic mechanisms, the evolutionary history of man's adaptation is characterized by his production of culture. That is, extrasomatic characteristics increase man's ability to utilize energy sources in the physical environment. The extrasomatic characteristics comprise culture, which takes the adaptive load off of the genetic apparatus. In fact, the genetic transformations have been slowed to the degree that they are almost negligible. Culture, in this usage, is synonymous with the development of man's cognitive apparatus, i.e., his ability to develop and use symbols. Symbolizing refers to the ability to hold a particular "meaning" about some "thing" in the external world, which is outside the mind of the observer. Such "meaning" is projected upon the "thing-out-there" (cf. Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952:70). The observer is also an actor and the inter-relationships with the "thing-out-there" is canalized according to the meaning "about it" which is held in the neurological cavities of the brain. Further, such meanings are not only stored in the neurological cavities of the brain but are transmitted to succeeding generations (socialization and enculturation), thus helping to ensure continuing species survival. Such cognitive material also provides the building blocks for further social elaboration and increased differentiation. Hence, cultural transmission is not mechanistic, for men as individuals are also creators of their culture and as such are able to take the meaning systems formerly transmitted and invent, re-arrange, or add to, in order to cope with the environment. Environment in this context should also refer to the social ramifications of coping, for people as well as thing are objects over which individuals and populations seek control (cf. Adams 1973; Vayda 1969). Such conceptualization would meet the necessary criteria set forth by Barth, namely that culture is an abstraction which can be used to refer to the adaptive process within the social environment at any level.

The concept of adaptation is a critical corollary to the concept of culture described above. Adaptation is a concept that was originally developed regarding the biological fitness (survival and reproduction) of any population of organisms (cf. Cohen 1968; Hulse 1969; Lerner 1968). Such usage is also applicable to man's evolutionary process with the added cultural component, or the utilization of culture to harness more efficiently the energy localized in the physical environment (cf. Odum 1971; Smith 1966; for a discussion of energy systems). The amount of energy harnessed has been used by some anthropologists as a means of describing stages of cultural development (Cohen 1971; Hammond 1971; Harris 1971; White 1959). Such usage refers to adaptation as an efficiency relationship vis-à-vis technological development and the configuration of social relations necessitated by a particular type of technology (cf. Steward 1955; Cohen 1971).

In this context culture is an "adaptive" means of capturing, or harnessing, energy sources in the environment for the purpose of controlling that environment. By environment is meant the social as well as the physical sectors. It tends to be the case that as men develop the cognitive skills (culture) necessary to capture greater amounts of energy in the physical environment there is the corollary attempt to exert greater control over the social environment. In man, as in other biological populations, there is competition for scarce energy resources. The two counties of South Texas, used in the present analysis, provide an example of the preceding relationship between culture, energy, adaptation, and control. For example, the Anglo population moved into a relatively empty space and used their cultural resources, that is, the system of farming and ranching, (tools and techniques) to exert a certain amount of control over the land and its energy resources. The

Mexicano population was encouraged by Anglos to settle in the area as "their" laborers, to be used as a further means of controlling and exploiting the energy sources extant in the physical environment. By settling in the area as laborers the Mexicanos allowed themselves to be placed in a subordinate position with relationship to the energy sources. The result of the historical relationship has led the subordinate Mexican-American population to increasingly share a great deal of the exploitative techniques (culture) and led to the present conflict for control of existing energy sources--social and physical. A following chapter will detail this adaptive process of conflict and change.

It is the contention of the present analysis that an understanding of ethnic conflict for control of schools will be greatly enhanced if the cultural features, that is, the meanings attached to objects and acts in the environment which are used for competitive purposes to exert control, can be stipulated. However, in building the conceptual problems alluded to in the earlier sections, it must be pointed out that the concept of "power" is integrally related to the process of cultural adaptation and the concomitant notions of competition over control of energy, which characterizes the case of ethnic conflict in the two localities of South Texas. As mentioned in the past, there has not been a decisive conceptualization of the concept of power in the social sciences. There are few attempts to describe the history of the concept and certainly this will not be the task here. (Note: One exception to this statement is Bertrand De Jouvenal's, On Power, 1962.) A look at the literature leaves one with the impression that the concept of power is not only used to account for a variety of things, but its meaning is assumed. Few are even aware that the various meanings of power pose a problem (cf. Bell and Newby 1971:219).

The concept of power is implicit in cultural evolution, which includes social and educational change among others, for it is generally true that power refers to the ability of an individual, or a population, to exert some degree of control over the physical and/or social environment. The following discussion will describe some of the ways in which power has been used and then use Adams (1970) to develop the concept for its application to the present analysis--culture, adaptation, control, competition, and so forth.

The Concept of Power and Its Relation to Culture and Social Change

Most writers in the social sciences use "power" to refer to the ability to make decisions (Dahl, Hunter *et al.*);

the meaning is sometimes implicit, sometimes explicit. Those focusing on the political education process take their "cue" from the latter usage.

Lynd (1967:45f) adequately describes the predicament with respect to the loose concept of power:

> If the earlier approach was too general and moral, the present operational approach tends toward an analysis of power without a theory of power, other than the traditional liberal doctrine of the flux of competing forces.

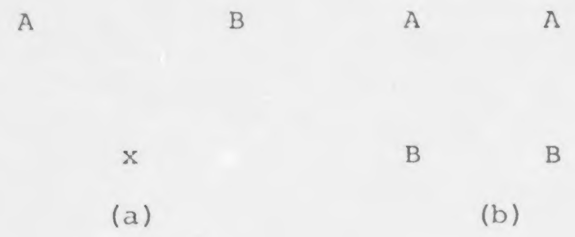
McCarty (1971:7) describes the concept of power as too "elusive and difficult to describe and verify empirically." Lynd (_op_. _cit_.) accounts for power as the control over things and people:

> Power implies control . . . As the complexity of a society increases, with the specialization of functions performed and resulting intensified interdependence of parts, the prevalence of controls necessarily increases, i.e., the close and pervasive planning and management of the flow of materials and parts in relationship to specialized manpower, machinery, and market that makes possible the large industrial corporation.

Larson and Washburn (1969) give "power" a similar treatment, yet theirs is less explicit, and there is a tendency toward reification.

Richard Adams (1970;1973) has been working on a more trenchant conceptualization of "power." It is my belief that much of his conceptual apparatus will be helpful in clarifying the socio-cultural conflict and change which South Texas presently is experiencing. The following discussion of power, and the concomitant concepts, is derived from the work of Adams unless otherwise specified. Although the present analysis does not use every concept presented in the following discussion it is necessary to present Adams' apparatus as fully as possible in order to maintain its integrity.

Adams conceptualizes "power" as energy flow (conversion) and forms which constitute the physical and social environment of man. His frame of reference is cultural evolution and ecology. Man's ability to capture and utilize the extant energy is viewed as the "use of power," with emphasis on the use of. This is to distinguish the traditional belief that men "hold" power. Power in the social sense is not a thing, but rather a function of things, i.e., anything can become the basis for power, an ideal as well as a gun. Part of the cultural dimension integral to Adams' concept of power is related to this issue. That is, value is ascribed to various things in the environment by the actors and it is these "things" (energy forms) that people seek. The values are the meanings attached to "things" and are themselves not objects of competition. Thus, "social power" has to do with the "control" that one actor, or party, exercises over some set of valued energy forms. That is, most specifically, some set of energy forms that constitute part of the meaningful environment of another actor or set of actors. This notion may be graphically expressed in the following manner (1973:15):



In the first case (a) A and B are power coordinates relative to their ability to control X. If, on the other hand, A has relatively more control than B, then A is the superordinate and B is the subordinate (b). The ordinate relations are used to construct domains (where actors are vertically related as superordinate-subordinate) and levels of articulation (where actors are coordinates).

The exercise of control is dependent upon what Adams conceptualizes as "reality potential" and "cultural potential" (believed potential)[7] (1970:48f; 1973:17f). Reality potential refers to an actor or set of actors "actual ability" to exercise certain control in the environment. The cultural potential refers to what people "believe about" an actor, or set of actors', ability to exercise some relative degree of control. This conceptual aspect of power is important in understanding the competition in South Texas. What an actor, or actors as a unit, believes about himself and other meaningful social units in the environment, relative to control, will manifest itself in social activity. Such will determine how a unit tactically operates in order to maintain or increase its control over the environment. Thus, in my understanding of Adams, the cultural features of power relationships are relevant in terms of peoples' relative selection of valued energy forms and in the meanings, or perceptions, that people have regarding their own or their opponent's ability to control such forms. Adams' concept of culture is similar to that which the writer posited earlier, although he probably articulates much more clearly. Culture refers to a shared set of meanings regarding "things" outside the mind. These meanings are localized in the neurological system of man. There is an articulation, therefore, between culture (shared meanings) and the "things out there" which are manifested in social relationships. Hence, social power is present in all social relationships.

Further, a "power structure" is a "systemic set of relationships" created by actors manifesting their attempt to control the environment and the exercise of power over their fellows (1973:24). Another aspect of this process is what Adams (1973:31f) chooses to call "symbol control," which is composed of a combination of control and power. That is, "some set of people, or social units, that control some telling portion of the environment, give their right of decision-making (i.e., their potential power) to some other person" (1973:31).

Adams differentiates the concept of control and power. Control specifies a non-reciprocal relationship between an actor and some object that cannot react rationally. Thus, control is always contingent upon understanding the nature of the object being controlled, and thereby requires a set of techniques appropriate to those characteristics (1973:26).

The various aspects of the environment which are brought under control are those perceived by a set of actors as important to the system, and if there is the appropriate technology to handle such. When this occurs, this control becomes of interest to other actors in the same environment and a power relationship is created. Power, on the other hand, is a reciprocal relationship constructed out of the believed patterns of controls. Again, power is the cultural (psycho-social conditions of decision-making) facet of social relationships. Power is social because "it exists by virtue of complementarity of social concerns of each actor with respect to the other" (1973:26).

Adams adds the concepts of force, skill, authority, and legitimacy to his repertoire. Force is the exercise of one kind of control, not power. Authority is of two types, social power and skill. The former is identified where a real power difference exists based on control differences, whereas a skill-authority results when an actor does not have any power over others but possess skill that others want to use in some fashion. (In this context Theodore Brameld (1965) conceives of "education" as power. He perceives education as capable of controlling other powers in the world that are leading to destruction.) Legitimacy, which has a long legacy stemming from Max Weber, (Gerth and Mills 1946) is conceived by Adams as a believed potential about some authority. That is, when people believe that a law, a certain behavior is proper. The issue determining authority is one of ascertaining the skill, power, or control which stands behind it, whereas legitimacy rests on who or what. This conceptual distinction should be helpful in South Texas because socio-cultural change is, according to Adams, characterized by a disagreement over the assignment of legitimacy.

The parties referred to in a power relationship are called "operating-units," and will be called "units" hereafter. A unit is a "set of actors sharing a common adaptive pattern with respect to some portion of the environment . . . The pattern involves collective or coordinates action and some common ideology expressing goal or rationale" (1973:83f). An "actor" is either a unit or an individual. A key characteristic of a unit is its adaptive behavior, i.e., the ability to re-align power relations in order to control a larger share of the energy forms in the environment relative to other units. There are six features related to this adaptive behavior which enable Adams to make conceptual distinctions between units (1973:86f): (1) the presence of parallel adaptive behavior of a series of individuals or units, with no recognition by each of such behavior; (2) the recognition of parallel behavior and the use of such knowledge to enhance their position; (3) the appearance of coordinated action among members creating a social network whereby each grants power to the other; (4) the allocation of power by a unit's members to one who will represent their interests; (5) the appearance of a source of power that the designated leader can use independently of any particular allocation; and (6) the delegation of power by the leader.

This set of features allows Adams to distinguish three classes of units. Fragmented units represent the minimal level in terms of control and power. Such may be of any size, from a single individual to an aggregate of people, but there is no internal organization beyond the parallel conduct of the individual, for example, people watching a movie. However, there are identity fragmented units, such as voters, ethnic sectors characterized by identification alone. Within identification units there is no coordinating controls over the actors. Fragmented units may exist in an environment composed of informal and formal operating units, such as the Raza Unida Party in South Texas.

Informal units represent another step in the use of energy forms and flows. Power is reciprocally distributed among its members with the minimal degree of coordination. There is "no concentration" of power and control "beyond that manifest by manual coordination" (1973:93). The major political parties in the U.S. are of this type. When an informal unit allocates power by selecting a chairman (skill authority), or some such role, there is a somewhat higher degree of control even though the actors may withdraw such power. Such a case is designated as a consensus unit. Like the case of a "headman" in many hunting-gathering societies, the people will follow the leader as long as they deem it in their best interest, thus providing a more concerted unit effort. The actors may withdraw their allocated power and the leader will cease to be.

Adams feels it is possible to further differentiate informal units on the basis of the degree of loyalty (1973: 95f). A consensus unit is an informal unit based on consensus loyalty, i.e., the members may withdraw their power at will. In the second type, the majority unit, the leader is granted power that is ultimately independent of any one member's allocation.

In formal units the leader has sufficient exercise of power so that he can delegate some to subordinates (power authority). In such a case the individual actor ceases to play a dominant role in the activities of the unit, i.e., bureaucracies. There are two types of formal units, the corporate and administered. The corporate unit has all six of the power features described above. The "rulers have independent power and delegate it," while the "members have independent power and allocate it" (1973:102). The administered unit is a residual category comprised of those units which may lack one or more of the six power features that constitute the corporate unit but which have either independent or delegated power sources. Such units are able to conscript the young for military duty or lock people up for a variety of reasons.

The preceding discussion distinguished the different classes of units postulated by Adams. Each is conceptualized according to the degree and type of power exercised. It is necessary to clarify the varieties of power exercises which, along with the concept of operating units, lead to the creation of domains and levels of articulation.

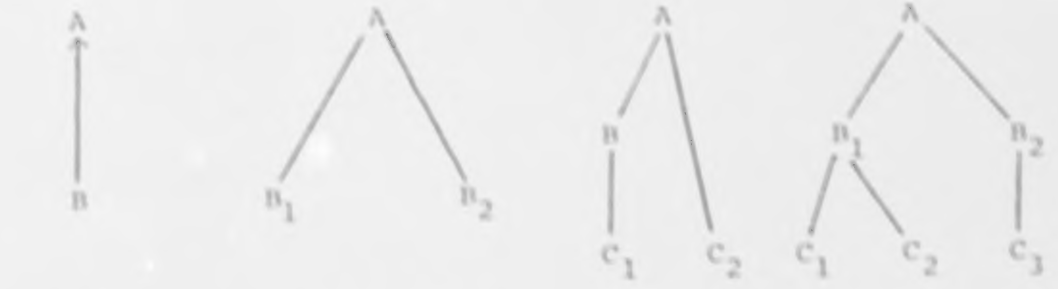
The first, and simplest, is independent power. In this case decision-making and control are retained by a lone individual. Such power exercise is the basis for control in all power systems (1973:53). An example would be a hold-up man with a gun. Within the framework of social evolution increased technological complexity increases the inter-dependency of individuals and results in the restricting of individual or independent power. In such case the emphasis shifts from an actor's concern for direct control over the environment to one of control over other controllers, and from the latter to the environment. Although independent power is exercised by one actor, there are cases where one (A) grants his decision-making to another (B), thus giving to a third (C) the illusion that (B) is exercising independent power. Unless the actual control has changed hands, from (A) to (B), the power process is conceptualized as symbolic control. The ownership of my house is of this type--the loan agency really controls the house.

A second type of power exercise is conceptualized as dependent or derived. There are two types of such power exercises--allocated and delegated. Both of these types share the characteristic whereby control is separated from decision-making. That is, the actor is dependent on the controls still held by those giving their approval. The difference between these two types of power transference revolves around whether power is transferred from many to one or from one to many (1973:58). Allocated power is the transference of power by many to one--as in an election of the Governor or President of the United States. *Delegated power* is the transference of power by one to many--as when the U.S. President delegates to cabinet members, etc. *Delegated power* is granted by a superordinate to a subordinate and allocated power results in making a coordinate into a superordinate (1973:61).

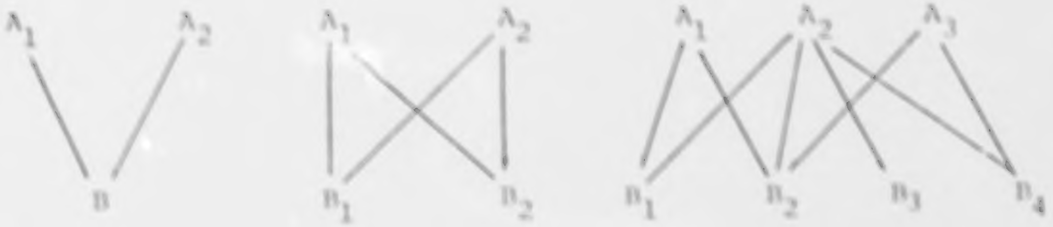
Taking the concepts of operating units and the exercise of power, it becomes possible to perceive the process and structure of social networks.

Power domains and *levels of articulation* represent the structural dimensions created by the power relations among operating units. First, a *domain* is "any relational set of two or more actors exercising unequal power relations to each other" (1973:62f). If A has greater power over B than B does over A, then B is in A's domain.

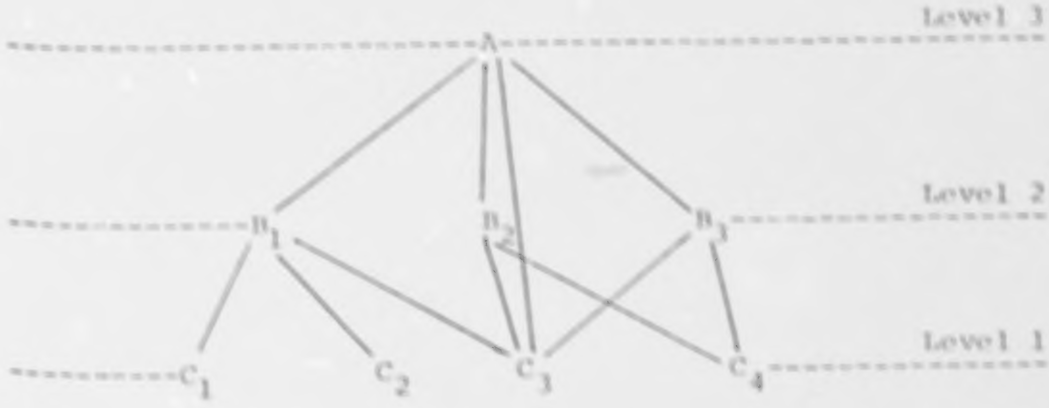
There are various types of domains depending upon the access routes from the subordinate to the superordinate. In the *unitary domain* there is only one superordinate for any one subordinate, while *multiple domains* are constructions whereby the subordinates have several routes of access. There are complex domains which include unitary and multiple domains:


A
B
A
B1
B2
A
B
C1
C2
A
B1
B2
C1
C2
C3

(a) Unitary Domain


A1
A2
B
A1
A2
B1
B2
A1
A2
A3
B1
B2
B3
B4

(b) Multiple Domain


Level 3
A
Level 2
B1
B2
B3
Level 1
C1
C2
C3
C4

(c) Mixed Unitary and Multiple Domain

UNITARY AND MULTIPLE DOMAINS

In unitary domains the strategy of superordinate is to delegate power in such a manner that the subordinates are neutralized, i.e., not able to use the collective power against the superordinate. In multiple domains, hence, there is greater possibility for the subordinate to play the superordinates off against each other. Whether or not a change can take place in the power relations of domains relates to the relative power (combined power of subordinates versus superordinates), the organization of the subordinates (to use tactically such combined power), and the availability of other power sources that can be used by the subordinates (independent or delegated). The testing of relative power, or confrontation, determines the believed versus real potential of the power wielders, thereby clarifying their relationship. Where a confrontation takes place two or more "levels of power articulation" will show up. Such levels reflect the relative difference and concentration of power.

For a unit to increase successfully its control over the environment, it must be in a situation to confront another unit at the same level of articulation where the events are generated, or have the power to act as a superordinate in a domain where the events to be changed are part of the things controlled by the domain (1970:102, p. 102). That is, the question of control is related to the position of the unit being analyzed in relation to the objects or events attempting to be controlled. From such a unit-centered perspective an event has structural and organizational features. By specifying a unit's structural and organizational relationship in an event the analyst is able to determine the relative potential of the units in confrontation.

Structure, in Adams' context, refers to "a set of conditions within which the social organization of a series of events takes place" (1970:83f). To structure something is to limit the control an operating unit has over that part of the environment, i.e., the structure of an event is the set of conditions outside the control of a particular unit. On the other hand, the organizational features of an event are those "factors and conditions that fall within the control of the participating units" (1970:85). Organization includes the "policies, specific operating behaviors, rules, and relational sets that comprise the conduct (specifically adaptive) of operating units at any point in time" (op. cit.). Further, those conditions that are organizational to superiors in a domain may be structural to the inferiors at the lower levels. Hence, Adams argues that "to change events, one must change the structural variables that produce them, and to change those variables, one must work at the level where those variables are organizational" (1970:103).

The operating unit is also used as a means of relating culture to power in social relationships. Culture, in this context, refers to a projection of a series of meanings to some social form. Where there is a social relational set, there will also be cultural forms with associated meanings shared by the participants. The utility of this idea is that it provides the analyst with two analytical approaches to the power structure: (1) given the identification of a relational set (unit) it is possible to work toward defining the forms and their ascribed meanings projected by the unit, or (2) given the forms, it is possible to work toward identifying the unit. Change in the power structure would be expected when different units are observed to ascribe different meanings to the same form, and/or developing new forms.

The "something" that an operating unit will attempt to control will vary according to what the unit thinks is of value, i.e., will extend their control over the environment. This may be wealth, honor, prestige, and so forth. By defining the values held by an operating unit, Adams adds a further analytical device for mapping the power structure. It should be possible to define the values by using Adams' "value proposition formula" and "value-classes." As the "value formula" specifies, the analyst seeks to discover WHAT is being maximized (something), BY WHOM this activity is being carried out (operating unit), and for WHAT REASON it is taking place (rationale). By referring to the formula one can determine what operating unit is acting and how it makes its behavior logical. On the other hand, value-classes define the "thing" being maximized. That is, in seeking to maximize something units are forced to set up some kind of "value-classes" which will provide a rationale for their behavior. A unit has to make behavior seem logical.

Further, value-classes contain objects and acts, which are the particular behaviors which either decrease or increase a unit's control over the social or natural environment. Such behaviors are not themselves the bases for decision, but are given meaning with a value-class. Value-classes are held with varying degrees of intensity and often different operating units project different objects and acts to the same value-class. When such an event occurs, a "cultural transformation" may take place--for example, black is ugly may change to black is beautiful, or a mayor-commission town may become a council-manager form of city government. Since value-classes tend to be maintained by the controllers of the domains and because such classes maintain their best interests, it is also true that these same controllers will promote object-acts for obviously similar reasons. Changes in the power structure would be expected when (1) operating units are promoting opposite value-classes: (2) units are associating different object-acts with the same value-class; and/or when units are maximizing different value-classes by means of similar objects and acts.

Adams' conceptual apparatus overcomes the basic problems encountered in the material reviewed in this chapter. First, the utility of the power concept, with the concomitant analytic tools, allows the analyst to map the power system without the built-in biases of the traditional "community study" approaches. Secondly, such an approach allows the analyst to operate at any level, and to specify the articulations, or links, between the levels. Thirdly, it indicates the relationship between the social and cultural systems.

Summary and Interpretation

The preceding review of the literature has been fairly extensive due to the fact that the present analysis involves several interrelated research interests--educational politics, community studies, ethnic theory, and anthropology. The specific focus of the study is an attempt to understand and account for school leadership behavior in the context of ethnic competition for control of schools. In relation to this problem it was noted that a traditional closed-system perspective is unable to deal with the plethora of extra-school articulations which impinge on local schools in South Texas, or anywhere else for that matter. Second, it was recorded that the traditional elitist-pluralist debate has not developed an adequate methodology for the present task. Third, the theoretical development regarding the notion of ethnicity and ethnic relations have been tied to either mechanistic sociological models or cultural trait analysis found in anthropology. Neither of these theories is of great utility in accounting for ethnic conflict and change in South Texas. Fourth, the literature was noted for weak conceptual tools, especially the ambiguous use of such terms as "power" and "community."

In attempting to overcome the deficiencies the present study requires an open-system approach which would enable the analyst to specify the connections between various local and supra-local units. Second, an eclectic method is required which relies heavily upon the participant-observer approach which characterizes anthropological field work. The research method will be described in greater detail in the following section. Third, a conceptual apparatus was presented which greatly facilitates the present analysis. For example, culture and power were described as intimately related. Power is the use of valued energy forms for adaptively controlling the environment and culture is the system of meanings attached to energy forms. Brokerage is a concept specifying the linkage between power-culture units. A power broker is a unit who transmits an energy form, or power, to another unit, while a culture broker transmits a new meaning, or set of meanings, about an energy form to another unit. Such concepts, together with their associated baggage, will greatly enhance the analyst's ability to clearly describe and account for the way in which schools and other local objects and acts are used by ethnic units as a power source for maintaining socio-cultural boundaries in order to control the environment. Specifically, it is of great interest to understand what cultural differences exist between various units operating in the local competition with regard to ethnicity and schools, for it is the cultural features which provide the organizational characteristics exhibited through the observed competitive behaviors. Further, it is of interest to note to what extent the local cultural and power features have been effected by supra-local units. An analysis of the locales' ethnic competition will increase the chances of contributing to a theory of educational politics, ethnicity, and socio-cultural change.

The following section sets forth the research procedure for accomplishing the preceding task.

The Research Design

The present analysis focuses on two localities situated in a single regional area of South Texas known for its year-round vegetable economy. Both communities share certain demographic characteristics--population size, ethnic composition and Anglo dominance of the economy. The two localities lie on a north-south axis in their relationship to each other and will hereafter be referred to as North Town and South Town. One of the nation's largest cities is within an hour's drive from North Town and the Mexican border is within one and one-half hours from South Town.

The region is the setting for a state-wide Mexican-American socio-political movement. One aspect of this movement has been the development of a state-wide political party, La Raza Unida. The center for this activity is a town which lies a short distance west of North and South Towns, forming a geographical triangle. As Mexican-Americans or Chicanos interact on the regional level, either through kinship ties, overt political activities, or for business purposes, they have spread the message of social and political liberation from the traditional Anglo oppressors. Thus, every town in South Texas has been experiencing a new competition from certain sectors of the Mexican-American population. It just happens that North and South Towns are in close geographical proximity to the center of the movement's activity and this has made them focal points in the region. This is not to imply that the competition being experienced in both towns can be explained by simple reference to a "conspiracy" by the movement's leadership residing to the west. One of the important contributions of the present study will be to account for any social changes or attempted changes, in each locale. Specifically, there has been concerted effort by various units of the Mexican-American population to take over the formal political apparatus in each locality. School leadership positions are key valued objects in the competition.

The present analysis focuses on the school leadership in both localities during the period of November, 1972, through January, 1974--a period of 14 months. The analyst spent 3 to 4 days each week in these localities during the regular school session, because of a teaching responsibility in Austin. During the summer months of July and August, 1973, the analyst was able to devote full time to the investigation. A total of 146 persons were interviewed and approximately 395 hours were spent in this activity (see Appendix B for a categorization of respondents and the amount of time spent with each.)

Studying school leadership in two small localities required a reconceptualization of the traditional ethnographic design. Ideally, an ethnographic analysis is holistic in its attempt to specify the rules, or grammar, for the total socio-cultural system (cf. Beals and Spindler 1967; Sindell 1970; Naroll 1963:236f). The ethnographer acts as a participant-observer in gathering data. This traditionally involves a lengthy stay in the field--a year is traditionally viewed as the smallest time frame for such activity in order to view the yearly social cycle. In the study of complex systems the holistic emphasis needs to be modified. The cost in terms of time and finances would be prohibitive. In the case of educational anthropology there is a need to develop research models that would apply to a range of phenomena located somewhere between a traditional and comprehensive ethnography and the more narrow educational curriculum studies. There are a number of cases which represent this interest (cf. Burkett 1969; Wolcott 1967; 1967). James Spradley and David McCurdy (1972) represent a collection of attempts to do ethnographic analysis in a variety of settings, such as the ethnography of hitchhiking or the ethnography of a bow and arrow gang, and so forth.

The present analysis was a modified ethnography in the sense that there has been no attempt to map the "total" social system. Rather, since the central focus is upon school leadership, the analysis used the school board members and professional educators as entrance points into the social system. An attempt has been made in each locality to define the operating units involved in the present ethnic competition for control of schools, as well as the cultural features used by each unit as a rationale in the conflict. This was accomplished in an eclectic fashion. First, in the interviews the analyst sought to elicit the respondent's perceptions of competing units and their meaning systems used in acting in the social environment. The reasons given for other actions were validated by interviewing the person(s) in question. Second, a content analysis was conducted of school board minutes and school annuals as a means of validating information gathered in the interviews, as well as contributing to a fuller historical understanding of the issues. Third, the analyst attended school board meetings and political meetings during the ethnographic period. Through this ethnographic exercise the power relationships of school leaders can be specified, as well as the tactics used by each unit in brokering power and cultural features for survival purposes. Fourth, demographic data relevant to some degree of historical reconstruction as well as the contemporary population's profiles were gathered from local, state, and federal sources.

More precisely, the ethnographic method enabled the analyst to specify the following conflict dimensions operating in the two locales: (1) the subordinate power relationship of professional school leadership and the tactics used: (2) inversely, the tactics used by superordirates, non-school and school related, to maintain or enhance their control of the schools; (3) the concomitant cultural features "brokered" by each power unit with specific emphasis upon the brokerage of professional school leaders; and (4) the comparative analysis of the two locales specifies the continuities and discontinuities of power units and the cultural features brokered.

The interviews were open-ended in that the analyst did not approach the locales with a set of preconceived issue categories that might prevent the emergence of a locally derived issue-structure. The analysis worked outward and from the school leaders. The initial contact indicated clearly the over-riding ethnic dimension. The analysis sought to determine the pervasiveness of this issue throughout the social system. It was found to be a pervasive and definitive characteristic in the present conflict--either differentiating or unifying such units as Anglo-American/ Mexican-American, school/locality, lay school leader/ professional school leaders, teacher/administrator, locals/ non-locals.

One distinction that needs to be made is that regarding the time span spent in each locality in relationship to the evolution of the conflict. The analyst was "fortunately" located in North Town during a crucial period. Operating units were tactically attempting to set up power domains for the Spring 1973 election. There is good ethnographic evidence that prior to November, 1972, activity was not of the intensity found during the ethnographic period. This is to say that the power articulations, and the constructing of cultural features associated with such, hit an all-time high, during the period of investigation. However, since South Town had experienced intense conflict for a number of years, organizational activity had waned. Thus, the period of residence in South Town, July, 1973-January, 1974, involved more historical reconstruction and less observation of direct events.

Lastly, the use of the terms Mexican-American, Mexican, Mexicano, and Chicano, needs to be explained. The analysis attempts to maintain the integrity of the local usage. Generally persons of Mexican descent in the two locales referred to each other as Mexicanos. When the analyst asked for a preference of labels the term Mexican-American would also be given. Those who see themselves as part of the La Raza Unida movement adhere to the use of the label "Chicano." It is believed to be an indigenous label and not derived from the Anglos. Anglos used a variety of labels, such as Latins, Latin-Americans, Mexican, Mexican-American, and "Meskin." The most common usage was Mexican. Thus, the writer has tried to use the labels in their specific social context. In the Anglo material the terms Mexican and Mexican-American are used interchangeably for the sake of variation in writing style, unless a direct quote dictates otherwise. When describing events and meanings from the vantage point of the movement Mexicanos the term Chicano is used. For the non-movement persons of Mexican descent the terms Mexicano and Mexican-American are used interchangeably. The variation in the use of ethnic labels is a further indication of cultural variation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cybernetics is a theory of information flow between a system and its internal and external environment. It specifically refers to the control (feedback) functions exerted by the system's environment. According to Bertalanffy (1968:21f) its use in biology and related sciences, generally describes the formal structure of regulatory mechanisms through the use of flow diagrams--inputs, outputs, feedback loops, etc.

2. Walter Smith has done considerable work on this problem. For further and more elaborate treatment see his unpublished Masters thesis, "An Alternative Design for Content Analysis of Ethnic Interaction Portrayal in Educational Resources," University of Texas at Austin, 1974; also Sociocultural Diversity Among Chicanos: Diplomatic and Pluribus Orientations, an unpublished paper (1971).

3. Nativism is generally treated as an attempt to improve a way of life by eliminating any foreign persons, objects, customs, or ideals. It is usually considered to be the result of acculturation stress and is related to the concept of cargo cults and revitalization. Briefly, a type of cultural reformation in response to foreign oppression.

4. Cargo cult is a concept derived from Melanesia. During World War II the indigenous populations viewed the cargo planes moving various war supplies. As a response to various needs, millenarian movements appeared with a belief that their ancestors will eventually send cargo (wealth, etc.).

5. Chiliasm is a religious form characterized by a belief in divine intervention as a means of transforming the social structures and processes. Since the prophets and their prophecies are usually subject to historical judgment, or such as the end of the world on June 1 . . . and so forth, the movement is usually short lived. Generally it is believed that such movements crop up where there is political or material stress. There is an anticipation that the political oppressors will be driven out.

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6. I am indebted to my colleague, Walter Smith, for the reflections concerning Wallace's concept of revitalization and its utility in the present chapter.

7. For an extensive treatment of "believed potential" see Walter Smith's (1974) "An Alternative Design for Content Analysis of Ethnic Interaction Portrayed in Educational Resources," unpublished Masters thesis, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL CONTEXT AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE ETHNIC UNITS IN THE TWO LOCALITIES

The present competition between Anglos and Mexican-Americans in North and South Towns for control of schools and other such formal institutions, is the result of a long history of social and cultural differentiation between the two units. These differences have resulted in an ethnic power relationship which is presently being challenged. The Anglo-Americans have traditionally occupied the superior position by controlling the local economy, political apparatus, and school system.

Although the analysis focuses on the conflict and competition which took place during a fourteen month period from November, 1972, through January, 1974, it is helpful to place this activity within an historical context which will illuminate and measure the relative social positions of both ethnic units. Such an exercise exposes the results of the habitat's historical limitations, given the technological state, provides a measure of Anglo domination of the social and physical resources, and illuminates the demographic forces which have contributed heavily to contemporary social change.

The Physical Context--Regional and Local

The two localities, which are the objects of this analysis, are located geographically on the eastern periphery of one of six Winter Garden areas of South Texas. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe the physical and social context of the analysis in order to identify certain underlying ecological characteristics which inform the present conflict. Historically the relationship between the two ethnic sectors inhabiting the region has revolved around a fairly diversified crop production. Of secondary importance, regionally, has been the cattle industry.

Geomorphologically the region is situated between the Balcones escarpment to the North and West and the large Gulf Coast Plains on the South and East. There are four streams flowing through the region in a Southeasterly direction (Nueces, Leona, Frio, and Sabinal). These streams function to drain the uplifted Edwards Plateau toward the Gulf of Mexico. The river valleys created by the drainage system provides one of the prime locations for the vegetable crops characterizing the region--even though the rivers are not a major source of irrigation.

The soils of the region can be broadly differentiated between the "uplands," which are dark clays resting on more firm clay subsoils which possess varying degrees of calcareous (chalky, calcium) properties, and the "bottomlands," which are brown to gray in color and divided between the calcareous silt loams and the more clayish alluvial soils (Godfrey et al:10). The soils of the Edwards Plateau to the North and West tend to share these properties but are shallower and rocky. According to Tiller (1971:20) the soils are generally pedocalic (possessing limey alkaline properties) which are created over beds of "unconsolidated and partially decomposed" sandstone, clay, etc., under semiarid conditions. That is, there is a marked deficiency of humus (organic material) in the formation of these soils. However, with the addition of nitrogen and phosphorus fertilizers and adequate water management the region's soils have been able to support an adequate farming economy.

In a continued attempt to disguise the analyzed localities their counties will hereafter be referred to as North and South, which maintains the continuity established previously.

North county's predominant soil (65% or 536,240 acres) is of a level to gently sloping sandy loams or loamy fine sands that have a moderately slow permeable subsoils.[1] The remainder of the soil, situated in the northern sector of the county, is a gently undulating clay, clay loams, and sandy clay loams. Sandy soils are characterized by less organic content than the clays found in the region, but plants have an easier time extracting moisture (personal interviews). Through the use of irrigation and fertilizers North county's crop production has dominated the economy (Table 4) [Tables 4 through 47 are in Appendix A]; in terms of cash receipts it leads the region for the period 1968-1972. This has been true in spite of the fact that it encompasses less land mass than the other counties of the region (Table 5). The phenomenal increase in irrigation acreage since World War II helps account for this dominance (Table 5). In 1969 North County ranked second regionally in the amount of acreage in irrigation.

The crop production record for the period 1968-1972 is evidence of the diversified nature of the farming economy (Table 6). Grain sorghums predominate in terms of land use but watermelons and peanuts are the chief money crops. The sorghums are used primarily for local feeding purposes and does not constitute a money crop comparable to melons and peanuts (personal interviews). Although crop production provides the basic organizational feature for North County's population, the livestock figures for the period 1968-1972 reveal an increase in this aspect of the economy (Table 4). If the present price of beef continues there is great probability that livestock production will continue to represent a significant portion of the county's economy. However, locals of North county believe farming to be the major agricultural operation and it did account for 61% of the economy during the period 1968-1972 (Table 4).

In contrast to North County, South County's soil composition is dominated (63% or 604,572 acres) by clays--dark, often calcareous, gray to yellowish brown, and silty clay loams.[2] Although the clay soils are usually more fertile, as specified earlier, the clays of South County are tight and saline. This type of tight-saline soil makes it more difficult for vegetation to extract moisture. Crop production is generally confined to the sandy loams of a small northwestern and northeastern sector. The early 20th century witnessed an attempt to increase field crops, such as onions, cotton, and vegetables. However, the soil conditions and the traditional ranching economy, which has locked up land use, mitigated against any significant crop production. Crop production reached its zenith in the 1930's in terms of the numbers of farms, although the acreage remained fairly constant (Table 7). South County shares a number of agricultural characteristics with Dimmit County (Tables 4;7). Both are regionally comparable in terms of the amount of land devoted to crop production, given soil and water conditions. South County's crop production accounted for only 30% of the total economy during the period 1968-1972, which is in stark contrast to North County's 61% (Table 4). The data in Table 8 shows that relative to North County the crop production of South County is less important to the economy.

In climatic terms the whole region is located between a humid subtropical zone to the South and East and a steppe zone to the North and West (cf. Tiller 1971:16f). The region might be defined as a zone of transition between these two major climatic areas. The temperature and precipitation of the region is a product of the warm, moist, Gulf air masses flowing from the Plains on the South and East, and the cooler, and drier, air currents of the Edwards Plateau steppe on the North and West. This zonal conflict tends to produce a regional climate characterized by long hot summers and short, fairly dry and mild, winters. The Gulf air masses tend to prevail during most of the year, hence a prevailing southeasterly wind.

In order to characterize the region's climatic variations the analyst has chosen to use the Northern and Southern points of the region. A comparison of the climate indicates a small variation in terms of temperature per monthly mean of several degrees (Tables 9-12). In the South, Carrizo Springs reports an annual monthly mean of 71.7° (F) and South Town 71.9°. In contrast, Uvalde and North Town record 69.2° and 70.9° respectively. The variation may seem slight, but when translated in terms of a growing season there is a difference of approximately 30 days in the Southern portion. The North averages 256 days annually and the South 290 days (Tiller 1971:16).

Precipitation also varies from North to South in the five county region (Tables 9-12). There is an annual mean differentiation of approximately 23.73 inches in the North as compared to 19.05 inches in the South. This difference is due to the geomorphological characteristics described earlier. The warm, moist, Gulf air masses flowing North and West over the cooler, drier, steppe air masses create convection showers. The majority of the precipitation occurs during the months of May through October. The early Fall produces the second peak precipitation period. However, the evaporation rate is high. Tiller reports (1971: 20) that the Texas A&M research station at Winter Haven has computed an annual evaporation rate of 66.54 inches. This was distributed seasonally such that July had the high rate of 91.44 inches and December the low of 22.4 inches. When the climatic data is correlated with the soils low holding power the reason for the increase in irrigation usage is quite evident (see Table 5).

The crucial environmental variable enhancing or inhibiting the region's agricultural economy is water. The early history of the region records numerous springs and artesian wells (Casto 1969; Tiller 1971). Hydrologically the three formations most predominant to the region's economy are the Carrizo Sand, Edwards (and associated limestones), and the Leona. The latter (Leona) is of limited regional utility and will not be treated extensively.

The Edwards aquifer is located in the northern sector of the vegetable region and consists of highly faulted and honeycombed limestones (Tiller 1971:14f). There is a distinct east-west boundary line running through the Northern section of the region (approximately 29 15' N) which Tiller indicates represents a division between good and bad water. That is, the ground water of the aquifer to the North of this line is good and that South is bad. Bad water in this context means that the water contains a high degree of hydrogen-sulfide which reduces its utility for agricultural irrigation. The Edwards aquifer is not directly significant to the economy of the two localities in our analysis.

The Carrizo Sand Aquifer is of primal importance in the Southern and Eastern area of the Winter Garden region--including North and South counties specifically. It begins as an outcrop belt (1-6 miles wide) to the North and extends, in a crescent pattern, South and West (cf. Tiller 1971:14f; Harris 1965:14f). The outcrop comprises approximately 190,000 acres before it dips underground to the Southeast (Ibid.). The natural recharge of the Carrizo Sand aquifer is due to precipitation on the outcrop. The Carrizo consists almost entirely of sand and contains minor amounts of shale, clay, and lignite (Alexander 1969:21; Harris 1965:14). The top of the aquifer (depth to which one must drill to reach the aquifer) in North County varies from about 200 feet near the outcrop in the Northern sector of the county to 2200 feet in the extreme Southeastern portion (Alexander 1969:24f). In South County the depth varies from about 1500 feet in the Northwest to approximately 4000 feet in the extreme Southeast (Harris 1965:16f). The water varies from fresh to slightly saline (Harris 1965:14). However, the Carrizo Sand aquifer is the most prominant ground water source available in terms of quantity, or gallons per minute.

There are, in North and South Counties, two minor aquifers that provide ground water for irrigation. First, the Queen City Sand, whose outcrop covers approximately one-fourth of North County and lies in a wide belt across the Northern sector before dipping South, can be reached at a depth of about 200 feet in the North, and near the outcrop, to about 600 feet in the South. In South County the same formation can be reached at a depth of approximately 200 feet in the Northwest to 1800 feet in the Southeast. The high sodium content of the Queen City water tends to make it less productive for irrigation purposes--especially in the shallower areas (Alexander 1969; Harris 1965). Secondly, the Sparta aquifer is a similar shallow source of ground water. Sparta outcrops in the extreme Northwestern section of South County and then dips Southeasterly. It can be reached at a depth of approximately 200 feet in the Northwest to 1600 feet in the Southeast. At the deeper levels the Sparta water tends to become highly saline (Harris 1965:15f). In North County the Sparta formation is of utility in the Southern region. It outcrops in a belt half a mile to more than four miles wide running South to Southeast and can be reached at a depth varying from 500 feet at its northern edge to 200 feet in the South. Again, as in South County, the water of the Sparta formation is fresh to highly saline and has limited utility for the future irrigation needs of the two counties agricultural economy. The Carrizo Sand aquifer is still of great importance for continual agricultural development.

Harris' (1965:2) computations indicate that the Carrizo Sand aquifer could transmit water at the rate of 90,000 acre-feet per year without creating an excessive lowering of the water-table. Tiller (1971:53) states that the measure of one-acre foot of water is equal to approximately 12 inches of water applied to each acre per year. However, recharge to the two counties is estimated at only 50,000 acre-feet per year. In effect, the withdrawals for irrigation in the vegetable region to the West are intercepting more than the recharge necessary for continued, much less expanded, irrigation usage in North and South Counties (cf. Harris 1965:2f).

The writer mentioned earlier that the region is historically characterized as having numerous springs and artesian wells. Due to intensive water use and bad habits in the early drilling stages, which contaminated much of the ground water, these have generally disappeared. The agricultural history of the region is distinguished by the increase in irrigation wells and acreage. South County seems to have seen earlier, and more intensive, irrigation activity than North County. Harris (1965:6) reports 121 water wells drilled during the period 1893-1914 in South County and its adjacent county to the East. Present data make it difficult to determine the extent of operative water wells in South County since records often include wells drilled for gas and oil and are not indicative of present activity. However, the acreage committed to irrigation in South County has shown an increase during the period 1909-1972 from 2,165 to 5,250 (Table 5).

Alexander (1969:48f) states that the first irrigation well drilled in North County into the Carrizo aquifer was in 1905, but that some shallower wells were drilled as early as 1902. By 1920 there were at least 12 wells extant in North County (Ibid.). A more accurate index of the trend is reflected in the acreage committed to irrigation (Table 5). North County records indicate an increase from 655 irrigation wells in 1909 to 32,700 in 1972, which makes the agricultural economy almost totally dependent upon ground water. This is quite a contrast to the 5,250 wells in South County and illustrates, once again, the differences in habitat and economy of the two counties.

Summary and Interpretation

It should be clear that water is the primary variable in the agricultural economy of the region, and more specifically in the two counties providing the focus of the present analysis. Due to more productive soils and greater access to ground water North County is basically a field crop economy with a secondary dependence upon livestock. South County, by contrast, is primarily dependent upon livestock and secondarily upon field crops. Between the two nutrient elements necessary to agriculture in the two counties, soil and water, the most critical is water--in the sense of its depletion and often contaminated nature. The fact that the most productive aquifer is so deep and the cost of drilling is becoming increasingly prohibitive (presently approximately $50,000) tends to inhibit further development in South County. The contrast between North and South Counties in terms of their agricultural development indicates the manner in which different habitats provide certain parameters to their exploitation.

The most obvious means of coping with the limitations imposed by the environment in the present case has been to increase the size of productive acreage per operator (Table 7). South County has generally followed this trend, with the exception of the abortive attempt during the 1920's. North County follows this trend, with 394 farm operations in 1900 and an average acreage per unit of 2,123.7, compared to 518 operations in 1969 with an average acreage of 1,191.1. The region follows the trend. This phenomenon is coupled with increased farming techniques and accounts for the Anglo population's survival during the 20th century.

Although there is some ethnographic evidence of a concerted effort to intensify the productivity per acre, it is generally true that most land owners see the need for extensive development, or expansion of land cultivated. This is especially true in North County. The livestock economy of South County exhibits the general tendency toward intensification of land use. That is, ranchers utilize various means to increase pasturage productivity (number of cows that can run per acre). This includes the increased building of water tanks for capturing surface precipitation, clearing of mesquite, cacti, and so forth, in order to reintroduce nutrient grasses, and cultivating small fields of grain sorghum for feed. It is commonly held that the natural brush pasturage of South county will "run" (carry) one cow per 25 acres. However, the practice is to increase this load to one per approximately 15 acres, to the dismay of the local conservation agents. As previously mentioned, the bulk of the land in South County has been historically locked-up in livestock production. Changes in land ownership are complicated and difficult to trace, but the analyst was able to determine that the general trend has been toward fragmentation. However, in the fragmentation process land owners are often non-locals or locals who have other means of income. This is true in both counties, and has significant import for the future social organization. That is, locals believe that non-local land owners are not committed to the local social milieu and cannot be counted upon to help maintain the system, which constitutes a loss of Anglo control. In South County there are still a significant number of ranches containing 30,000 to 90,000 acres, yet the bulk of the land holdings, or the mean, is in the 10,000 to 20,000 acre category.

Thus, the physical characteristics of the environment, or habitat, have traditionally set certain limits to the agricultural economy. Although both counties have soil and water problems they differ significantly in degree. First, South county's habitat will not allow crop production to the extent found in North County--given the present state of the technology. Second, the ranching economy of South County is more dispersive and less intensive in its labor demands than the crop economy of North County. Concomitantly, this ecological relationship is systematically responsible for the ethnic labor relations which have characterized the social organization of the area and produced the present conflict.

The following demographic profile of the ethnic units is intended as a statistical means of describing and measuring the relative social relations of the two ethnic sectors. The data is as historical as the extant material would allow. Such a treatment helps to set the framework for the more detailed historical interpretations in chapter three.

Social Characteristics

Population Characteristics

Briefly, the early settlement of the region (1850's-1890's) was characterized by open range ranching and small farms (Casto 1970; Tiller 1971; personal interviews). With the introduction of the windmill and barbed wire in the latter part of the 19th century the Anglo ranchers began to supplement the natural grasses by growing grains. It was not until the turn of the century that a large scale development of farming began. This is generally correlated with the development of artesian wells throughout the region and the coming of the railroads. With the water and marketing problems thought solved many ranches were broken up for profit and land companies began to speculate. Most of the smaller settlements of the two counties, especially in South

County, were land developments at this time. In fact, many existed on paper only and settlers from the Northern parts of the United States often thought they were buying land in a thriving agricultural community, only to arrive and find the area undeveloped. However, the population grew rapidly as people came from the North and East to make a new start.

The relative growth of the region during the period 1910-1970 can be seen in Table 13. Regionally the growth of the Mexican-Americans is striking. Such an overwhelming change in the relative numbers comprising each ethnic sector is itself an important contribution to the present conflict taking place in the two localities, and throughout the region. Only two counties record Anglo growth during this period, Uvalde and Zavala. Zavala is the site of tremendous Chicano activity and has experienced significant Anglo population losses in the last few years that is not adequately revealed by the census data. Even Uvalde's over-all increase of Anglos for the sixty-year period tends to hide the loss accruing since 1950. North and South Counties also record heavy Anglo out-migrations. According to locals in both counties, but especially South County, such features as a large capital investment, the alkaline and saline artesian water, lack of dependable markets, inexperience of immigrant farmers, and a highly undependable climate, have all contributed to many Anglos being wiped out while others were reduced to tenuous marginal agricultural activity.

In contrast, the Mexican-American population has almost doubled in the region since 1910. It is notable that the total percentage change for Mexicanos in North and South Counties during the period 1910-1970 was less than the other counties of the region. This is probably due to the fact that the Winter Garden counties have been heavier producers of vegetables which demand a more intensive labor pool.

Age and Sex Characteristics

The age and sex characteristics of North and South Counties provide a more penetrating insight into the demographic change taking place between Anglos and Mexican-Americans. The age and sex characteristics of any population are the results of its fertility, mortality, and migration history (cf. Browning and McLemore 1964:19). The age-sex aspects function as a shorthand method of viewing the effect of social processes and provide a means of calculating future trends.

North and South Counties' age-sex characteristics are represented by Tables 14-23. The analyst collapsed the age-sex data into three principal categories, or cohort groups in Tables 1 and 2. These are: young (0-14), working

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Table 1
Age and Sex Characteristics: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors in
North County, 1960-1970

Characteristic and Ethnic Unit	Percent in Age Groups				Dependency Ratio
	0-14	15-64	65 over	Total	
Anglo					
1960	30.6	58.1	11.4	100.0	72.1
1970	22.7	57.7	9.6	100.0	73.4
Spanish Surname					
1960	44.3	49.2	6.5	100.0	103.2
1970	42.1	51.6	6.3	100.0	93.7
Sex Ratio					
Anglo					
1960	115.3	93.9	100.0	98.9	---
1970	78.2	108.5	63.4	90.8	---
Spanish Surname					
1960	104.4	97.3	105.1	100.9	---
1970	115.0	90.4	108.2	101.2	---

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1960, Volume 1, Part 45, tables 14,27. 1970, PC(1)-C45, tables 35,129.

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Table 2
Age and Sex Characteristics: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors in South County, 1960-1970

Characteristic and Ethnic Unit	Percent in Age Groups				Dependency Ratio
	0-14	15-64	65 over	Total	
Anglo					
1960	30.3	57.6	12.1	100.0	73.6
1970	21.4	63.2	15.4	100.0	58.2
Spanish Surname					
1960	41.4	51.7	6.9	100.0	93.5
1970	37.5	53.3	9.2	100.0	87.5
Sex Ratio					
Anglo					
1960	119.3	97.9	88.3	102.7	---
1970	149.5	105.1	79.6	108.5	---
Spanish Surname					
1960	106.8	93.5	112.8	100.1	---
1970	90.0	87.3	102.2	89.6	---

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1960, Volume 1, Part 45, tables 14,27. 1970, PC(1)-C45, tables 129,35.

(15-64), and elderly (65 and over). The tables reveal striking differences between the two ethnic sectors in both counties. First, the Mexican-Americans are evidently producing more children than Anglos. Second, although both ethnic sectors record a significant loss of members once the working stage is reached, the Mexican-Americans tend to lose relatively more. Third, the higher elderly ratio among Anglos reflects their relative greater life chances.

The large percentage of young cohorts in the Mexican-American population, for both census periods, is an expression of a high fertility rate. Although the age-specific fertility rates in Table 41 is an individual measure (the number of births per woman in a specific age category) and not the measure of a total population increase, it is helpful in this context as a way of clarifying the larger Mexican-American young group reflected in the age-sex data. The figures in Table 41 reveal a consistently high fertility rate for Mexican-Americans--almost double that of the Anglo females. Browning and McLemore (1964:23) use a child-woman ratio (the number of women in the child-bearing age, 15-49 years) for comparing both ethnic sectors during 1950-1960 and found that, first, the Spanish-Surname population was close to that of Mexico in 1960, and second, that the ratio differences between Texas ethnic sectors narrowed significantly.

It is safe to assume that the Spanish-Surname ethnic sectors narrowed significantly. It is safe to assume that the Spanish-Surname populations of both counties under analysis is not unlike that of the rest of the state. The large number of young Mexican-Americans is especially significant in the face of the county's inability to hold a large portion of its working class Mexicanos. The glaring and relatively small number of Anglo females in the age-specific 30-34 cohort unit for North county in 1970 is an error in the census, as is the 20-24 cohort unit for South County in 1960. There is a greater percentage of females in these age categories than represented by the data. The bar-graphs (Tables 18, 23) are added to provide visual images of the comparative relationships of each age category for both counties.

Another demographic feature which informs the present ethnic population changes is the "sex ratio." It is ideal if a population has an equal number of males and females in order to replenish itself. Where this is not the case there are resulting social and economic strains on the population. For example, it is obvious that an equal mating ratio would generally assure the population of necessary personnel to fill the existing jobs, and the possible creation of new ones, or economic expansion. The sex ratio is computed by dividing the number of males by the number of females times 100.

There are a number of consistencies between ethnic sectors in the two counties (Tables 1 and 2). First, the Mexican-Americans are consistently in the most unfavorable position in the working category, where reproductive and economic functions are crucial. Second, the Mexican-Americans are in the most favorable position with regard to a high sex-ratio in the young and elderly categories. The high sex ratios in the elderly cohort class is interesting, since females usually live longer than males. This latter finding is consistent with Browning and McLemore's findings for the state's Spanish-Surnames as a whole (1964:22). Among Anglos and Blacks, females have a life expectancy of five to six years longer than males.

On the other hand, there were a number of inconsistencies between ethnic sectors in the two counties. For example, in North County it is interesting that during the decade of the 1960's the sex ratio of the working cohort class of each ethnic sector went in opposite directions. The Anglo worker's sex ratio increased, which indicates a surplus of males, and the Mexican-American's decreased, leaving a surplus of females. South County, meantime, was recording a significant increase in the number of males in all categories except the elderly. At the same time, the number of Mexican-American males was decreasing--a higher sex ratio. The Mexicanos loss of males is understandably due to the economic push-pull factors operating, while the loss of Anglo females in South County may be attributed to a general marrying-out trend, but this latter conclusion needs empirical verification.

According to Browning and McLemore (1964:7) "a population change for any group or territorial unit during a specified time can come about only from two sources: a natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) and net migration (in-migrants minus out-migrants)." The writer has previously maintained that the demographic changes exhibited in the two counties significantly contributes to the present conflict. It is extremely important to account for the demographic change in order to further enhance our understanding of the ethnic sector's relative social positions.

Natural Increase Factors

In order to determine the extent to which the demographic changes taking place in the two localities can be accounted for by natural increase factors the present analysis uses a "crude rate of reproduction change" (Bogue 1969:39f). The crude reproductive change rate is the balance of a year's deaths subtracted from live births and divided by the midyear population--in this case the census data is as close to midyear as is possible. The ratio has been further multiplied by 1000 to show the number of events per 1000 people. The data in Tables 24-26 reflect the crude birth, death, and reproductive rates for the population as a whole. Although North County has a higher reproductive rate than South County both record a significant reproductive rate. This means that there are more births than deaths and that natural increase in the two counties has contributed to the population trends previously cited. In an attempt to get an ethnic breakdown of the crude birth, death, and reproductive rates, the analyst has had to use the period of 1970-1972 to arrive at some idea of differences. Since population figures are not available for the 1972 population the analyst calculated the average yearly increase during the 1960's and added this figure to each year from 1970-1972. However, the writer feels that the Anglo rate of decrease in South County is not that accurate and therefore used the 1970 census figures. The data in Table 26 indicates that Mexican-Americans are chiefly responsible for the natural increase operating in the counties. This supports the notion set forth earlier that the Mexican-American's relatively higher individual fertility rates are an important reason for their population growth in the area. Even though the present computations are recent there is no reason to doubt that they reflect historical trends.

Migration Increase Factors

There are several ways that migration can be measured in accounting for population growth. One of these is the algebraic expression of the preceding birth and death rates. First, the analyst used the equation proposed by Bradshaw and Poston (1971:13)[3]. Net migration is conceived to be a residual category of the general population growth minus the births and deaths. The data in Table 3 reflect this computation, for the period 1960-1970. In these terms migration is a heavy factor operating to change the population composition in both counties. It is interesting that this is a relatively more significant factor in South than in North County. There is also the difference of a heavier male migration in North County than in the South, and vice versa in North County.

Table 3

Net Migration, 1960-1970

	Total Migration-%		Males	Females
North County	3,215	28.8	2183	1464
South County	1,017	53.1	425	555

The preceding data do not specify whether the migration patterns are out of the county or in, nor do we have information on the relative ethnic movements. In an attempt to specify some of these aspects the analyst has chosen to use the categories of "natives and parentage" (Table 27), residence (Table 28), and rural-urban (Table 29).

According to the U.S. Census the "natives of native parentage" category includes those persons born in the U.S. whose parents were both born in this country. The category for natives of foreign or mixed parentage refers to those born in the U.S., but one or both of the parents were foreign born. The third category, foreign born, is self-explanatory. Again, since the U.S. Census has not differentiated the Spanish-Surnames until 1950 the historical data are not available. However, the trend reflected in Table 25 can be useful in extrapolating the historical process of parentage. The census data do not follow through on the category of mixed parentage, therefore the analyst assumed that the difference between the native and foreign born and the total population of the Spanish-surnames for that period comprised the mixed parentage. The figures reveal a steady decline in foreign born, which obviously means a greater trend toward a more indigenous population. The in-migrants are generally not from Mexico, but rather from other counties throughout the region. Field work in the area indicates that local Mexicanos were not as reluctant to move across county lines to work on a permanent basis as they were to move out of state.

The data in Table 29 reflect the trends toward urban settlement, but do not necessarily reflect in-county indigenous movements. That is, out of county and out of state in-migrants could also account for the phenomenon recorded in Table 27. Urban residence is defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as including those incorporated places of 2,500 persons or more. This has been a consistent definition since 1950. On a regional basis the data express the idea that all counties have experienced significant migration to the urban areas (from a personal knowledge of the area there has been a marked movement of rural persons into the county seats). Economic conditions probably have created this condition. In both counties during the last several decades there has emerged a trend among Anglos to either move completely into town, or at least set up a second residence. Usually the family is moved into town and the farmer, or rancher, will use either residence, depending upon the work demands. In attempting to reach informants the analyst often had to phone or visit both locations. This trend has not been as significant in South County as it has in North County, hence the urban growth in South County can probably be assigned to the Mexican-Americans. The ethnographic evidence indicates that the Mexicano colonias, or barrios, grew up as a result of rural to urban migration since the 1930's. The rationale behind this notion reflects the idea that the seasonality of the labor needs would not have tied the Mexicanos to the farm as tightly as the land-owners. This coincides with the findings of Browning and McLemore (1964:16). It was their interpretation of the state patterns as a whole that Spanish-Surnamed persons were basically urban. Urban life provides scarce social resources that are not as accessible in the rural context for both ethnic sectors such as schools, churches, entertainment, stores, medical facilities, and so forth. One result of the Mexicanos urban movement has been to provide a group solidarity which facilitated political action that was diffused in the rural context.

A further expression of migration patterns can be seen in Table 28, which shows the residential change rates for the period 1965-1970. The Mexicanos were less mobile residentially than Anglos. It should be noted that the record of out-migration among high school graduates in Tables 33-35 is further evidence regarding the heavy depletion of local talent. This is a drain of a highly selective Mexican-American segment of the population.

The picture of ethnic spatial mobility in the two counties, and the region as a whole, is fairly representative of Texas according to Browning and McLemore (1964:16). Perhaps one striking feature that should be pointed out is the fact that Mexicanos have dominated in absolute terms the characteristic of living abroad. It is safe to assume that this refers to Mexico.

According to Blau and Duncan (1967:243) "migration provides a social mechanism for adjusting the geographical distribution of occupational opportunities." It is their contention that permanent as opposed to annual migrants tend to attain "higher occupational levels and to experience more upward mobility than non-migrants, with only a few exceptions" (op. cit.:272). Further, the occupational mobility chances increase as a migrant moves to larger population centers--rural to small urban (like North Town), and from small urban to large urban. The authors maintain that there is a selection process operating in a migration flow. That is, those who migrate are generally those who are "more able" and hance the origin site is depleted of an important segment of its labor force.

Shannon and Shannon (1973) provide an empirical analysis of a number of Texas Mexican-American migrants to Racine, Wisconsin, during the last thirty years. A significant number of these migrants originated in South County. Their study revealed that the migrants originally left to take advantage of the industrial opportunities in Racine. Many of these migrated in the 1950's--which accounts for the decrease in South County's Mexicano population during the period (see Table 13). According to the Shannon study the median income for South County Mexicanos was $1585 as compared with Racine's $4746 (1973:81). However, in seeming contradiction to Blau and Duncan (1967) the South County Mexicanos were employed at a fairly similar occupational level, commensurate with their educational level. Even with time the children of the migrants to Racine were not as occupationally mobile as their Anglo counterparts. Ethnicity was a barrier to increased occupational, hence income, attainment. A later section will describe the economic conditions of North and South County.

Summary and Interpretation

The demographic differences between Anglos and Spanish-Surnames in both counties are quite pronounced. Although the age-sex characteristics were not presented for the region as a whole it would be safe to generalize from the data of North and South Counties and state that this contrast is shared by all five counties represented in Table 13. The Mexicano increases since 1910 have been due to a high birth rate and relatively lower mortality rate as reflected in the reproductive rate. This natural increase was supported by demographic variables which showed the Mexicanos to be less mobile and predominantly native to the area, while possessing a heavy percentage of their population in the young category (0-14). In contrast, the Anglos had a relatively low reproductive rate, which was supported by their age-sex composition. The latter's regional loss of population has been a contributing factor in the lowering birth rate and operates in conjunction with a heavy out-migration rate. Several features characterizing the Mexican-Americans have special economic significance and will be discussed in greater detail later. First, the relatively low sex ratio indicates the absence of an important segment of the male population, that is, those who are traditionally the major bread winners. Second, the urban migration, although ambiguous, suggest that there has been a decline of employment opportunity in the local agricultural economy. Among other populations it might signify increased mobility mechanisms--such as an increase of car owners which makes distance between residence and job less of a problem. In the present case it might be possible to conceive of the urban migration, as a positive movement of laborers to urban residence while maintaining their rural labor. However, it most likely correlates with the negative implications of the economy, such as increased mechanization of farm work and the tenuous seasonal labor demands described earlier.

Education

Formal education is traditionally held to be necessary to acquire greater social and economic positions in the highly industrialized social systems. The study by Shannon and Shannon (1973) cited earlier reported that ethnicity played a more dominant role in occupational mobility in Racine, Wisconsin. A comparison of the median school years completed and the percent of high school graduates for ethnic sectors in the two counties reveals that Spanish-surnamed are also in an unfavorable position (see Table 30). The total population rates include the Spanish-surnames and therefore bias the data, but the table does present a "crude" relationship. Conservatively, the Spanish-surnamed of the region are two to three years behind their State ethnic contemporaries. An interesting feature of the median years completed characteristic is that females in the three Winter Garden districts have a higher median than do their male peers, while the North and South Town districts record a higher male median. South Town Spanish-surnamed females have the lowest median in the region. The analyst is at loss to explain these differences.

The low educational position of the Spanish-surnamed population revealed by median years completed is further supported by the percent of high school graduates distributed between the two ethnic sectors in Table 30. Again, the figures under-represent the Anglos' position. The region's Spanish-surnames are greatly behind the percentages for the Spanish-surnamed of the state as a whole. On a regional, and county basis, the Spanish-surnamed are dramatically under-represented in high school production. South County especially stands out as lacking in Spanish-surnamed graduates on a relative basis. Since Table 13 reflects the overwhelming dominance of the Spanish-surnamed population throughout the region the conclusion that can be drawn from the data in Table 30 is that the school system primarily operates on behalf of an Anglo minority. This further enhances the Anglo dominance of the economic sphere and retards the Spanish-surnames involvement socially and economically--if in fact, educational attainment is as crucial as traditionally believed.

A content analysis of the ethnic composition in high school yearbooks for selected years in North and South Town high schools reflects the historic pattern of Anglo dominance and the gradual take-over by the Spanish-surnames (Tables 31-32).

The changing ethnic composition of South Town's high school is reflected in Table 31. There is a clear pattern of an Anglo plurality until 1964. This same year exhibited a large Mexican-American freshman class (63) in relation to an Anglo minority (32). However, even with the

Mexicano majority the leadership positions and awards continue to be garnered by the Anglo students. It is not until the late 1960's, and specifically 1969, that the Mexican-American students acquired sufficient self-confidence to institute their own ethnic peers in positions of leadership. A corollary feature revealed in the analysis is the difference in organizational behavior between ethnic sectors. Anglo students have been heavy participants in comparison with the Mexican-Americans. It was not until 1969 that Mexicanos matched the Anglos in absolute terms. The data does not reflect the fact that many students participate in several organizations, however the results of the content analysis does provide a crude measure of the social behavior and ethnic transformation taking place in South County's high school during the period 1940-1973.

North Town's Mexican-American student population gradually became the majority in the late 1950's (see Table 32). Following the pattern described in South Town the Mexicano students were unable to occupy the valued social positions existent in the school. Even as late as 1972 school leadership positions were shared with Anglos on an equal basis, even though the latter comprised only 31% of the population. During the 1960's, and even into the early 1970's, Anglos continued to control the organizational sector of school life. Anglos continued to control the cheerleader and majorette positions. At least half of the "favorites," which includes the most beautiful, most popular, and so forth, were Anglo students. Thus, while Mexicanos became the dominant unit in terms of population they were unable to capture and control the social environment of the school.

There is not a sufficient amount of data to make definitive pronouncements regarding the effect of educational achievement upon the ultimate social and economic mobility of the Mexicano. Shannon and Shannon's study (1973) has been mentioned on several occasions and accounts for ethnic prejudice as the culprit in the social and economic retardation of Racine Mexican-American migrants. A student of Shannon, Marlyn Brawner, has published her interpretation of the Racine data (1973:727f). She indicates that, first, the children of the early Texas migrants to Racine had a clear advantage in terms of post-graduate education, grades completed, and lower drop-out rates. Secondly, if the age-grade retardation is defined as the number of years a student does not pass, the Racine Mexican-American students from Texas migrant parents are less retarded than their Texas counterparts. Thirdly, Brawner states (1973:734) that the "attitudes and perceptions" of their parents (Racine sample) was not characterized by significant educational-motivation for their children. In fact, they had little hope, or belief, in the school's ability to make a significant difference in their childrens' life chances. She accounts for the measured differences between the children of Racine Texas migrants and their Texas counterparts as a result of a "new environment." The new environment provided a somewhat different ethnic identity by Racine Anglos. Further, they were able to see honors and educational achievement acquired by persons much like themselves and this provided a new self-concept. Therefore, the traditional explanation used in South Texas to account for the low educational achievement among Mexican-Americans, such as culture and family influences, were not significant.

The writer conducted an analysis of the migratory patterns of high school graduates from both locales for selected years between the period 1939-1969 (see Tables 33-35). The patterns help to understand who is staying in order to supply the social and economic leadership for the local system. At the same time the data emphasizes the inability of the local agricultural economy to absorb the emerging labor pool--and specifically the best of the talent. A further feature of the data is the support given to the former analysis regarding the school's social composition, that is, Mexicanos have not been a significant portion of the educational output in both locales.

The first, and most striking feature of the analysis is the extremely heavy out-migration of graduates from both ethnic sectors, as mentioned earlier. Those who never left, combined with those who left (college and military service basically) but came back and stayed, constitute the on-going labor force. The watershed for the heavy out-migration of graduates from both ethnic sectors seems to have been reached around 1960. Second, the migration patterns of Mexican-American graduates relative to Anglos supports the contention made earlier that Mexicanos are less mobile than Anglos. Only in South Town during the 1960's do Mexicanos approximate the Anglo mobility pattern. It is interesting that during the 1960's North Town Mexicano graduates were staying to a greater extent than their ethnic counterparts in South Town or Anglo graduates in both locales. The more diversified economy of North Town, coupled with the nearness of San Antonio, probably accounts for this phenomenon. The data in Table 35 shows Anglo graduates of North Town continuing a heavy out-migration into the 1960's while those of South Town were more inclined to stay home. Field work experience indicates that the majority of remaining Anglos in South Town are families who control a significant portion of the agricultural economy or a substantial business. Thus, the graduates of the 1960's and 1970's increasingly reflect stronger historical and economic ties to the locale. The writer suspects that this strongly accounts for the phenomenon of a decreasing out-migration of Anglo graduates, at least relative to the past. On the other hand, the Mexicanos marrying locally have tended to remain in the local area and occupy the low level occupational positions. Further research is needed to specify the variables, and relative impact of such, which operate to hold Mexican-American graduates in the locality.

The data in Table 36 provide some indication of the relative strength of the region's school districts. The population figures are derived from a 1970-1971 source, so the ratios have increased. Nonetheless the preponderance of Spanish-surnamed students is clearly manifest. At the same time the Anglo control vis-à-vis Anglo administrators is expressed. Only the Crystal City school district now has a full complement of Spanish-surnamed administrators. North and South Town's school districts are gradually moving in this direction and this trend is the source of the present conflict. The average daily attendance is regionally similar and doesn't reflect any perceivable problems. However, there is a variation in terms of expenditure per student. Uvalde, being the most urban district in the region and having a more favorable economy, spends more per student--and has more tied up in school facilities. Uvalde's tax rate is the lowest in the region and coupled with the previously mentioned indices puts them in a highly envious position regionally. South County has the lowest number of students, the least investment in facilities, and the second highest tax rate, which puts them in a relatively unfavorable position in the regional context. Without statewide comparative data it is difficult to determine how the indices in Table 36 reflect the locally depressed conditions. The data in Table 37 give a clear indication of the financial controls exerted by the state and federal units. Local support, in absolute terms, has increased along with the state and federal contributions. It is clear from the data that education in the region is heavily supported by state and federal funds.

Economic Characteristics

The previous demographic analysis has often alluded to the economic consequences inherent in the changing demographic patterns and the relative power relations of the two ethnic sectors. The present section will attempt to set forth the details of this phenomenon.

First, the analysis necessitates some idea of where Mexican-Americans are entering the labor market. The data in Tables 38-39 represent this phenomenon for both counties in 1970. Both the occupational and industrial distributions indicate that Mexican-Americans are occupying the less favorable positions, which follows the trends for the state as a whole (cf. Browning and McLemore 1964). What is hidden in the industrial categories, but clearer in the occupational table, is the relative subordinate positions of Mexicanos in each category where it might seem that they are overlapping with Anglos. That is, it seems to be the case that there is a greater differentiation in the status positions of Mexicanos in a particular category. Whereas both groups might be entering the retail business the Mexicano will be the stockman and the Anglo the owner or manager of the business.

Second, the relative educational levels of ethnic members seems to correlate with their relative power positions in the economy. One way of testing this relationship is to view the median family income and median education (see Table 40). The data reveals a significant relationship between education and income. It should be kept in mind that the figures for the "total" include both ethnic sectors and is biased to that degree. The analyst feels that the gap between the two sectors is greater than indicated. The percent of Spanish-Surnamed families falling into the poverty status is included for further demonstration of their economically depressed condition.

The relatively heavier economic burden experienced by the Mexican-American family can be further understood by looking at the individual age-specific fertility rates in Table 41 and the dependency ratios in Tables 1-2. First the fertility data shows that Mexican-American women have an individual reproductive rate almost double that of the Anglos. The high Mexicano fertility rates generally reflect the high rates among Mexican-Americans for the state as a whole (Browning and McLemore 1964). The infant mortality data in Table 42 reveal that Mexican-American infants have a greater chance of dying than Anglo infants. Health care for the Mexicanos throughout the region has historically been a critical problem. Yet, the infant mortality rates have not been high enough to off-set the high fertility rates among Mexicanos. This is a chief factor in the natural increase experienced by the region and also a great source of economic load for the family.

Second, demographers traditionally employ the "dependency ratio" as a means of expressing the impact of age composition on the economic activity of a population (cf. Bogue 1969:154f; Browning and McLemore 1964). The dependency ratio treats the age-category of 15-64 as the productive segment of the population and the youth (0-14) and elderly (65 and over) as the "dependent" segment of the population. The dependency ratios for the counties are expressed in Tables 1-2, and show the number of dependents each 100 workers must support. It is obvious that Anglos in both counties possess a more favorable economic position by having less persons to support.

One must conclude that Mexicanos have a relatively poor economic position by virtue of the fact that they are entering the lower categories of the occupational field and that a lower educational level is functioning to aggravate this condition. Further, their higher fertility rate and dependency ratios place them in a position of greater economic need. It should be hastily mentioned that such correlation of education should not prevent the social scientist from attempting to measure the effect of ethnicity in such a phenomena. The basic issue is not whether or not education effects one's economic mobility, but the relative position of education versus ethnicity in accounting for such movement. Shannon and Shannon's (1973) study has already substantiated the fact that ethnicity is the overriding variable in Mexicanos' social and economic position.

Besides the low occupational-educational profile of the Mexicanos there is the threat of unemployment which contributes to their depressed condition. The data in Table 43 reveal a higher unemployment ratio for the Mexican-Americans in the two counties, although Mexicanos in North County have fared somewhat better due to the more diverse economy. The data in Table 44 reveal another aspect of the labor-force participation, or weeks worked. A few days work during the week was designated by census takers as a full weeks work, which does not provide a good comparison in terms of stable, daily work, but does offer a crude insight as to the relative position of the two ethnic sectors. It is obvious that Anglos have a more favorable work cycle.

Returning to the previous discussion of educational and economic relations the work of Poston and Alvirez (1973) maintains that there is a $900 difference between Anglos and Mexican-Americans in the same social-occupational category. This difference was determined between the two ethnic sectors relative to full-time urban employment, of persons residing (between the ages of 20-40) in the Southwest. Using relative mean income figures instead of absolute income figures, and correlating this with education, the authors found that "relative income differences between the two ethnic sectors decrease with increasing education" (1973: 707). Hence, "the relationship between education and income differentiation depends to a large extent upon the manner by which income differences are measured" (Ibid.).

Given the depressed economic picture constructed to this point there is a need to account for other sources of income. That is, given the character of Spanish-surnamed employment, education, occupation, and so forth, coupled with the rather marginal character of the local agricultural economy there are two other sources of support. First, the Texas State Department of Public Welfare pumped almost one-million dollars into each of the two counties under analysis in 1972 (see Tables 45-46). The annual report of the Department of Public Welfare is not categorized according to ethnic sectors; based upon field work experience, the analyst assumes that the major recipients of old age assistance and aid to families with dependent children were from the Spanish-surnamed population.

Figures are not available for accounting mean average for the state as a whole, but it seems that the percent of families and persons on welfare for the region is extremely high. The heaviest proportion of the welfare dollars is absorbed by the elderly (51.3% in North County, and 49.6% in South) and aid to families with dependent children (41.6% in North and 49.6% in South). Medical care assumes a major share of this aid.

Although there is some variation in the conditions of poverty and the related distribution of welfare dollars in the region as a whole, the general picture is one of extreme poverty among Mexican-American, relative to the local Anglo sector and the American economy. Again, the tenuous and narrower economic conditions of the southernmost counties appear as relatively more depressed than the rest of the region. South County shows 38.8% of their families on welfare and 23.5% of their children. The other counties are not far behind--in fact, the differences may not be that important. Yet, the economic input by the State Welfare Department significantly undergirds a good portion of the local population throughout the region.

A second outside source of economic support is the government payments to local farmers and ranchers (see Table 47). The demographic data have already indicated the almost total control of the agricultural economy by Anglos, hence there is little need to indicate a breakdown of this money according to ethnic sectors. For the present purpose the figures show an important contribution to the local Anglo economy, or survival, just as the welfare data do for the Mexicano segment of the population. The fact that the two southern counties in the region receive less federal allocation than their northern counterparts relates to the differences in their agricultural economy--ranching in the south vs. crop production in the north. Without the number of producers there is little way of specifying how this money is distributed, or to whom. However, this is a significant undergirding economic contribution maintaining the local Anglo agribusiness. Both ethnic sectors are dependent upon non-local, or outside, aid in maintaining themselves.

Summary and Interpretation

This chapter has attempted to present data that would reveal the ecological and social relations that characterize the lives of two ethnic sectors who are competing for survival in select counties of South Texas. Generally it has been shown that the physical environment has set certain parameters to the local agricultural economy and that this system has provided the context in which both ethnic sectors have organized socially. South County's habitat has allowed a ranching operation while minimizing the more labor intensive farming operations that characterize North County's economy. This economic difference has been the critical factor in the developing population differences of the two counties. Nevertheless, the areas' agricultural economy has provided the context in which ethnic relations have developed. Anglos have traditionally been the land owners and Mexicanos the source of inexpensive labor.

The demographic profiles of the two ethnic sectors reveal that several factors have been operating to promote the present conflict. First, due to a greater natural increase as well as significant in-migration, Mexican-Americans have become the majority population. Contrastingly, Anglos have lost numbers to high out-migration and a low fertility rate. Second, although the Mexican-Americans comprise the majority they occupy the subordinate demographic position socially and economically. The data show that Mexicanos have not been heavy participants in the educational institutions of the region, which are themselves heavily supported by state and federal funds. Further, the Mexicanos' low educational profile correlates with their positions in the more menial occupations and the concomitant low income categories. This latter condition is exacerbated by the greater number of dependents attached to each Mexican-American bread winner. This economically depressed condition is somewhat alleviated by significant welfare support. The fact that Anglo farmers and ranchers receive state and federal funds which function to support and maintain the local agricultural economy is further indication of its tenuous nature.

The demographic conditions not only provide a necessary quantification of the power relationships which are described by informants but are also population forces directly informing the present conflict. Population pressures, greater educational expectations, and economic needs, all combine to function as systemic "push" factors underlying Mexican-American attempts to change the socio-economic power relationships in the two counties. The following chapter attempts to record the local actor's interpretations of their environment and historic relationships as antecedents to the present conflict.

FOOTNOTES

1. This figure was computed by the author using a soil map provided by the Soil Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

2. Computed in the same manner as the preceding soil-acreage figures.

3. The rates were computed using Bradshaw and Poston's formula:
$m = P_1 - P_2 - B - D$, where,
P_2 = population at the end of the period,
P_1 = population at the beginning of the period,
B = total resident births during period,
D = total resident deaths during period,
M = net migration during that period.

This procedure does not differentiate between the number of out-migrants or in-migrants, but the algebraic sum of both.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS

The previous chapter described the physical setting, the resulting agricultural economy, and the relative social positions of the two ethnic sectors in the region and counties of analysis. The demographic analysis contributed a clear picture of the superordinate-subordinate power relationship existing between the two ethnic sectors. Anglos clearly occupy the more favorable superordinate power position socially and economically. It seems clear from the demographic data that Anglos have traditionally controlled the land and that this has proven to be a key basis of power. Yet, there is a clear indication in the demographic profiles that Anglos have also controlled strategic socio-cultural institutions, such as local government and schools. These institutions have provided further power sources (energy forms) enhancing Anglo control of the environment.

As mentioned in chapter one the present analysis does not attempt to provide a holistic description of the locale's socio-cultural system. A traditional anthropological ethnography of a simple society usually includes an account of its economic, political, technological, and kinship systems--to name a few. In contrast to simple societies (tribes, bands, etc.) persons in complex systems do not share all aspects of their cognitive maps. Therefore, in an attempt to modify the traditional ethnographic model the analyst proposes to focus on the response of school leadership to ethnic competition for control of schools. This is a particular "scene" which is composed of a set of recurrent social interrelations and concomitant shared meanings (Spradley and McCurdey 1972). However, in order to understand school leadership behavior it is first necessary to describe and account for the ethnic conflict in the larger social context, which is the result of a long history of Anglo-Mexicano socio-economic power relations, so aptly exhibited in the demographic profiles of the preceding chapter.

The analyst contends that the present ethnic conflict will be greatly clarified by a brief description of the way in which the actors themselves interpret their historic interrelationships. This reflects Barth's (1969) notion that cultural differentiation, even construction, is a result of inter-ethnic organization. The emphasis is upon those empirically derived cultural features utilized by the actors in social relationships for ethnic ascription and differentiation. These ethnic ascriptions function to set up a series of "boundaries" for organizational purposes. Therefore, the present historical excursion will accomplish the following: (1) It will account for the rationales undergirding each ethnic sector's beliefs and acts embracing the present conflict; (2) the reality of a continuing differentiation between the two ethnic sectors, even though some of the cultural characteristics used in the organizational forms may change, will provide some specification of the continuity as well as change in the local cultures; (3) enable the analyst to specify the socio-cultural functions of the school system, or any other formal organization, which further clarifies the socio-cultural power relations of school leaders.

The present chapter is organized according to the interpretations of the local social evolution held by the competing ethnic sectors. It is a contrast of the Anglos' perceptions in each locale with that of the Mexicanos. There is no attempt made by the analyst to provide a polemic for either ethnic sector, but solely to set forth as trenchantly as possible the manner in which each interprets the changing nature of ethnic relations. The material used in the historic reconstruction was derived from ethnographic data, extant written data, and analysis of both the local school board minutes and high school annuals.

Finally, the analyst is strictly "reporting" what informants and written materials transmit regarding important meanings and belief potential estimates concerning the historic ethnic relations.

North Town Anglos Interpret Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations

According to North Town Anglos the early settlement and the subsequent social evolution is confined to Anglo sectors. In 1971 the locale had a centennial celebration and a booklet was written describing the area's development (Centennial Corporation:1971). The introductory section of the booklet is devoted to a list of committees and their members. It is significant that there are only twelve out of one-hundred committee members with Spanish surnames.

North County was legally organized in 1871. However, the region was sparsely populated by Anglo settlers who primarily ranched and secondarily raised their own vegetables. According to the Centennial Corporation (1971) there were only three farmers listed in the 1860 census. This substantiates Casto's (1969) claim that the first Anglo settlers arrived in the area around South Town in the early 1860's. Thus, if North County settlers were early enough to be included in the census of 1860 and the 1860's represents the time of the earliest settlement of the northern portion of South County, then the pattern was clearly a southward movement out of San Antonio.

The Anglo account of this early period indicates the region's rivers provided the site for the early settlement. The description of the early elections and the land auctions make no mention of Mexican-Americans. There is one Mexican-American listed on the first jury trial of 1871, revealing that there must have been a few in the area and at least some involvement in the local social power processes.

The early settlement period, which is roughly from the 1850's to the turn of the century, is characterized as consisting of a small number of Anglo ranch-farm operations. Small trading centers emerged in order to service ranchers in the area. In 1881 the Great Northern Railroad laid a track into North County and established North Town on the east side of the tracks. Residential boundaries developed in relationship to the railroad tracks. The Anglos settled the early townsite to the east of the tracks and the Mexican-Americans settled to the west. There is some ethnographic evidence from both locales that as the Mexicano population grew the Anglos often threw rocks at them in order to keep them on the proper side of the tracks. It goes without saying that this would serve as a profitable means of creating a geographical boundary between the two ethnic units. Such behavior also symbolizes the presence of what must have been a whole set of ethnic social boundaries existent in the early period. The geographical spatial boundaries should represent the presence of segregated social institutions such as schools, churches, entertainment, and general patterns of social interaction. The geographical boundaries have persisted to the present time, with a few Mexican-Americans moving into the Anglo section over the last few years. However, the process of housing is not reciprocal, for Anglos have not moved into the Mexicano section of town. There is still a tendency for Mexicanos to try and carry out as much of their shopping as possible in their own section of town. The whole system of spatial boundaries seems to create a minimal degree of social interaction between the two ethnic sectors. This phenomenon is illustrative of the nature of culture, which is to say that many of the present features in forming ethnic relations in the two locales are rooted in the early settlement period.

The railroad brought an increased influx of Anglo settlers to North County. Land was increasingly broken up into tracts from 160 to 640 acres (Centennial Corporation: 1971). By 1890 cotton had emerged as the dominant crop (Ibid.) The rhythm of the cotton specialty demanded periodic intensive labor, such as hoeing and picking times. This seasonal, or periodic, need for intensive labor spawned the Anglo practice of contracting Mexican labor along the border to the south. Such a practice influenced the early influx of Mexican settlers in the county. From the early 1880's until the coming of the railroad, the cotton economy gradually increased until it was wiped out by the boll-weevil in the 1920's. At the peak of the cotton specialty in the 1920's there were 19 cotton gins operating in the county. There is one that operates sporadically at the present time. Local agricultural experts predict that more cotton will be grown in the future. Nevertheless, broom-corn and grains have replaced cotton. It was noted in the last chapter that the early 20th century witnessed an increased practice of ground water irrigation. With the increase of irrigation came an increase in the more diverse production of onions, spinach, grains, peanuts, watermelons, and a rise of livestock in the economy. Although the vegetable production has not replaced the important role of cotton in the economy it has helped maintain the local demand for periodic intensive labor.

According to Tiller (1971:73f) onions are a more seasonal crop than spinach. Therefore, the onion harvest encouraged the local Anglo farm population to continue the contract relations with Mexicans along the border, the regional spinach boom of this period (1930's) forced the local farmers to urge their Mexican labor to settle permanently. Generally the period of the 1920's through World War II was a one annual crop era. It is not until after World War II that crop diversification began. The depression, boll-weevils, lack of good water, and the fluctuating markets contributed to the tenuous agricultural conditions of this period.

One of the depression years developed several trends that continue to characterize the Anglo's agricultural economy. First, some of the government farm programs initiated during the New Deal era, such as low interest loans, acreage control, crop storage loans, payments for land improvements, still operate. The programs vary but the purpose is still to stabilize the economy. For example, the Centennial Corporation (1971) mentioned that several local landowners received payment "in excess of $50,000 for land not in cultivation" in 1970, and further, that "nearly every farmer receives some payment from the government." Such "allotments" are clearly derivative power sources which enable the local agri-businessman to maintain his traditional control over the environment. The extent of upper-level financial power was set forth in Table 36 of the last chapter. Secondly, due to the encouragement of the county agent in the 1930's the local farmers began to cultivate peanuts. Today it is one of the big money crops of North County. Thirdly, there has been a trend for the Anglo land owners to move into North Town and either lease their land or operate it at a distance.

A factor that effects the local economy, but is not related to the agricultural operations directly, is the increased urban pull emanating from San Antonio a short distance to the north. San Antonio's military operations and expanding economy since World War II have increasingly attracted labor from North County. Presently approximately 300 persons commute to some degree each week. This results in reducing the pressure on the agricultural operations to absorb the labor pool in North County, and provides another economic input into the local business sphere. It also provides "independent power" for those so employed.

San Antonio also serves as the major distribution center for the region. During the period of research it was a common occurrence to find that the informant had to "run to San Antonio to get something." It also pulls North Town citizens to its shopping malls and entertainment centers (theaters and restaurants). Thus, North Town has gradually shifted from an early independent farming locale to a satellite of San Antonio.

Although there has been considerable in- and out-migration over the years, as reflected in the preceding chapter, there is a significant number of the early Anglo settlers' descendents living in North Town. In fact, the depth of one's local ancestry has become a major factor defining status ranking among Anglos. The status is not, however, strictly an ascribed phenomenon. It is supported by control over some significant portion of the environment--land and/or an extensive kinship network. "Newcomer" is a term that is applied to persons who have just arrived or have lived in North Town for ten or fifteen years. As a rule newcomers are relegated to minor roles in the locale's social and political life. Newcomers are generally teachers and business personnel. Those interviewed were unanimous in having experienced the local Anglo superordinate social units as impenetrable.

Invariably, these dominant units were defined, or identified, in kinship terms. Anglo social life tends to be carried out in the kinship unit, but extra-kin sociations are organized along age-groupings. The couples that play bridge, dance, drive to San Antonio to supper and the theater, and engage in other similar activity, are generally of the same age bracket. However, when competing over scarce resources such as land or political offices, the kinship network becomes operative irregardless of age. Several cases of Anglo competition which illustrates this characteristic will be cited later.

There are a number of mechanisms that Anglos have developed over the years to maintain their socio-cultural boundaries and to assimilate newcomers. The churches operate locally to maintain the traditional boundaries separating the two ethnic sectors. There has been a traditional anti-Catholic bias held by the Protestants--who are Anglos. Presently there is little verbal support for this bias, but it does surface. Several prominent Anglo Protestants defined the local Mexican-American confrontation as an attempt by the Catholic Church to gain local political control. The local Catholic Church has several Anglo families in the parish, but these have become inactive due to the Priest's overt support for the local Mexican-Americans. Such behavior indicates that the ethnic boundaries have been tightened to such an extent that the Anglo Catholics could no longer stand the strain and had to choose between the local church parish and the Anglo esteem. Continued participation in the Catholic parish would have indicated to Anglo Protestants some degree of acquiescence to the Mexicanos' cause.

Geographically the Protestant churches are on the east side of the tracks--the Anglo side of town. Yet, there is a small congregation of Mexican Protestants who tend to find themselves caught between the two competing ethnic sectors. They are defined and categorized as Mexicans by the Anglos, yet their Protestant label leads the Anglos to believe that they share many cultural features in common. Thus, Anglos have tried to use their own ministers to influence this group of Mexican-Americans in the recent, and present, conflict. For example, when the Anglos first organized the Better Government League to counter the Mexicanos' organization one of the Anglo Protestant ministers was encouraged to contact the Mexican-American Protestant minister and get his members to join.

Anglo Protestants of North Town share a belief about the nature of man that is rooted in Protestant theology--especially the Reformation (cf. Dillenberger and Welch 1954; Lee 1964). According to this system of belief man's salvation, or acceptance by God, is signaled by a man's ability to achieve economically. Through hard work a man will be able to manifest an abundant material life. Max Weber (1958) isolated the preceding belief as the key to the emergence of capitalism in the West. The fact that many Mexican-Americans in North County have not exhibited similar patterns of economic and social development is understood by local Anglos to represent an ontological flaw in their culture and provides the basis for general Anglo feelings of cultural superiority.

The Methodist Church has emerged as the organizational locus of the leading Anglo power wielders. The analyst was told on numerous occasions by Methodists and non-Methodists, that membership in the Methodist Church is almost mandatory if one wants to "get ahead" locally. As has been pointed out, Mexican-Americans are not members of the Anglo Protestant churches. With the exception of a small Mexican-Methodist church the Mexican-American population is believed to be Catholic. The Mexican-Methodist Church was created with the help of the Anglo Methodists in order to maintain the social boundaries existing between the two ethnic sectors. The rationale used by Anglo Methodists for this act is that "they (the Mexicanos) prefer to worship with their own."

There are a number of other civic and social organizations in North Town that follow the Church's pattern of ethnic boundary maintenance--the Masonic lodge (which is traditionally anti-Catholic), the Rotary Club, and the Chamber of Commerce. These organizations have historically excluded the Mexican-Americans, although the Rotary and Chamber of Commerce has recently attempted to recruit several Mexican-American entrepreneurs who are believed to exhibit the hard work ethic.

The local weekly newspaper is largely devoted to local Anglo events, such as marriages, church programs, school activities, and who has been visiting whom. During the period of field work the paper was almost totally Anglo in its reporting of activities. The analyst was not permitted to review the past issues of the paper since others had often damaged these issues, but there is no reason to believe that the pattern is new. For example, the Centennial Corporation (1971) dates the beginning of the newspaper in 1883 and its description of some of the early news substantiates the traditional Anglo orientation.

Since 1883, when there were approximately twenty businesses listed, the Anglo merchant has been a dominant figure in the local social and political scene (cf. Centennial Corporation 1971; Foley's tables of city leadership, unpublished). A review of the Centennial report (1971) and a personal knowledge of a number of vacant buildings in the business district of North Town would tend to indicate that there has been a decline in the diversity and percentage of business activity in North Town. The analyst did not attempt to document this fact. If the business sector has not declined it surely has not grown significantly. The pull of San Antonio would be a contributing factor to this phenomenon.

North Town is governed by a council-manager form of government. There are seven council members elected at-large. The mayor is one of the council members but the position is specified during the election so that voters understand that this particular council seat functions as the mayor. Until the early 1970's all of the council members were traditionally Anglos.

The county administrative structure consists of five commissioners and a county judge. There has been little change in the organization of the county since its beginning. Historically the administrative-political organization of the county has served as an effective boundary maintaining device between the ethnic sectors. Mexican-Americans have not been able to break through the boundaries protecting the county governmental unit.

Of all the mechanisms used to maintain ethnic differentiation none has been as pervasive as the labor roles. As previously mentioned, Mexican-Americans or Mexican nationals have traditionally been the chief source of labor for Anglo farmers and ranchers. It might be added, hopefully without undue bias, that this labor has been inexpensive--relative to local Anglo labor. A rancher or farmer could always hire Mexicanos for less money than he could Anglos. The Anglo has a whole series of rationalizations to justify this situation. First, many Anglos reason that the Mexicano is genetically programmed for the subordinate labor role. He would not be happy with any other type of existence. As one prominent North Towner explained, "If I started digging a ditch with a Mexican I could out-work him the first hour or so . . . the second hour our work would even up . . . the last hour, and from then on, the Mexican would be able to out-work me." Secondly, a significant number of local Anglos point out the fact that Mexicanos were not able to develop the land as they have been able to do. This is evidence for Anglos that Mexicanos are culturally inferior--if not genetically as well. Contemporary economic conditions of Mexican-Americans are offered as further evidence of this cultural inferiority feature. Even though wages are higher and there are federal mechanisms (funds, etc.) for enabling Mexicans to enhance their position, they seem to be unable to do so.

Anglos of North Town do not categorize all Mexican-Americans in the same manner. First, they make a distinction between local Mexican-Americans and "wets." Wets are illegal immigrants from Mexico and are believed better workers than locals, although the former return to their country after a relative short period of work. Secondly, local Mexicanos are divided into laborers and entrepreneurs. The laborers are viewed as either not wanting to work because they are lazy, lack initiative, and so forth, or are demanding too high wages. The Anglo sees federal welfare programs as contributing to the Mexican-Americans' inability to "get ahead." These programs are believed to stifle individuals' initiative by giving them enough to exist, without the discomfort that would stimulate them to work. Local Mexican-American entrepreneurs are designated as being "different." It is important to note in this context that Anglos are classifying Mexicanos according to work-ethnic and occupational types.

The entrepreneurial category of Mexicanos constitute the type asked to join the Rotary and Chamber of Commerce. They are selected by the Anglos when a Mexican representative is needed on the social or political scene. These representatives exhibited subordinate behavior when in the presence of Anglos, that is, such behaviors as downcast eyes, excessive amount of smiling, agreeability, humbleness, and so forth. By contrast, the Mexican-American entrepreneurs whom the Anglos disliked tended to display more aggressive behavior, such as forceful speech, willingness to disagree, strong eye contact, lack of smile, and general lack of humility. Consequently, Anglos have divided entrepreneurs into the "good" and the "bad." The good are those who continue to maintain the traditional ethnic boundaries and power relationships. The "bad" are those who seek to challenge the traditions.

Anglos historically have other beliefs about Mexican-Americans which they have used as a cultural rationale for the power relations. The first of these is that Mexicans are "dirty." This belief was often used to describe Mexicanos during the period of field work. One Anglo went to great detail in describing several cases where Anglo teachers had to de-louse the hair of Mexican-American children in elementary school. Second, Anglos believe that Mexican-Americans are lazy. This theme reappears frequently. Several Anglo farmers, ranchers, and businessmen, went to great lengths to justify this belief. They told how they needed to constantly reiterate job descriptions even though the Mexican-American had worked on the same job for a great length of time--even years. They also felt it important not to leave most Mexican-American workers alone on a job. The job will not get done or it will not be done properly. They gave further examples of Anglo employers leaving their Mexican workers and returning to find them sitting around listening to the radio in the pick-ups or visiting. Thirdly, Anglos think Mexicans are financially irresponsible. Thus, they fear Mexican-Americans capturing the local political positions. A banker and a businessman did state that Mexican-Americans are not bad credit risks. However, the former view tends to be widespread and leads to the conclusion that Mexican-Americans are not able to handle bureaucratic-managerial functions. Such a belief reinforces the traditional cultural labor role mentioned earlier. Finally, Mexican-Americans are believed to be potentially dangerous from a physical point of view. They resort to fighting when caught in a frustrating situation. This is contrasted with the Anglos' value of keeping cool, calm, and reasonable in the same situation. Mexican-Americans are hot-tempered "by nature" and are prone to gang-up on an Anglo, so the saying goes.

These beliefs about the Mexican-American have led Anglos to define them as prone to disregard the law. To support this idea Anglos cite the case of the chief of police hired by the Mexican city council when they took control in 1972. (He was fired when the Anglos regained control in the Spring of 1973.) Anglos claim he had a previous arrest and no training for the job, so he should not have been considered. The man and his wife claim that the case was a driving while intoxicated type and was many years ago. Furthermore, the state law regarding law enforcement officials' credentials in such matters didn't go into effect until much later and should not be used retroactively. The man was actively seeking training and stated his willingness to develop his competence. However, Anglos perceived this situation as substantiating their claims that the Mexican-Americans are negligent of the law. The analyst might add as an aside that the Mexicano sheriff and his wife had been very vocal critics of the Anglos and worked hard on behalf of the local Mexican-American political organization. This latter fact probably had more to do with the Anglos' negative reaction to his appointment as sheriff than the former DWI charge.

A further example used by Anglos to substantiate their claim that Mexicanos are lawless is the case of the $700 missing from the city coffers in the early Spring of 1973. City Hall was administered at that time by a Mexican-American city council and manager.

A third case was the same administration's annexation of a heavily populated Mexican-American section into the town's legal boundaries. Anglos claim that this process was not carried out according to the law and that when the Mexican-American council was so advised, they ignored the admonition.

Anglos also believe that Mexicans are cruel and jealous in their relationships with each other. They point out that Mexican-Americans are consistently trying to impede the upward mobility of their own people. For example, the present coach is a local Mexican-American. It is said that he is constantly derided by "his own people." A further example of this belief involves a Mexican-American labor-contractor who is highly visible in the local conflict. This man's job requires him to recruit Mexican labor for field work. He receives a cut from each worker, plus a commission from the farmer or rancher. Anglos view this practice as taking advantage of one's own race and as analogous to being a vulture.

Mexican-Americans are also viewed as being clannish, as shown by their creation of the Mexican Methodist Church. "They want to be with their own people" is a common Anglo rationale for most ethnic boundaries. They are also "heavy breeders," according to Anglo interpretation. The larger number of children in the Mexican-American family, compared with Anglo fertility patterns, leads to this belief. Anglos see in this either a worldwide Catholic plot to take control through a plurality, ignorance regarding the economic liabilities of adequately providing for many children, or a cultural-genetic flaw. Correlated with the high Mexican-American fertility is the idea that Mexicans are passionate people. On several occasions Anglo males pointed out that their hostile sentiments toward Mexican-American males was not projected upon the females, for the latter were not anti-Anglo. There seems to be a prevalent idea that Mexican-American women are sexually available to Anglo men.

The heavy-breeding concept leads many of the Anglos to resent paying taxes. They think that they are supporting another ethnic population that hasn't the common sense to help themselves by controlling their birth rates and carrying their share of the tax burden.

The preceding set of belief potential estimates provides Anglos with a rationale for maintaining local ethnic boundaries and concomitant subordinate-superordinate power relationships. These rationales provide the basis for a series of acts that function to maintain the boundaries. Daily life in North Town is regulated by these belief potential estimates. There were a number of observations during the period of field work that support this contention. First, there was observed a distinct difference in the manner in which Anglo business personnel, such as clerks, employers, and so forth, related to Mexican-American customers in contrast to Anglo customers. The relationship with Anglos was consistently cordial and helpful. There was usually a smile and conversation about local events and people. Even an Anglo stranger, such as the analyst, was greeted in a "friendly" manner. In dealing with Mexican-American customers the relationship was mechanical and often terse. If the Mexican-American asked a question the clerk answered in a very automatic and unemotional fashion. In fact, the clerk might even look in another direction while answering. The response might be tinged with some degree of exasperation, leading those standing by to receive the implication that the Mexican-American was "so dumb."

Secondly, the belief potential estimates provided the rationale for the Anglo city manager and several other city employees to resign during the Mexican-American city council's administration of 1972. The Anglos insisted that they "couldn't work with Mexicans." This was a way of saying that the Mexican-Americans were bad managers, dumb, not to be trusted, wouldn't follow the legal norms, were clannish, and so forth. Thirdly, there was the case of the Anglo female city employee who refused to use the ladies restroom at City Hall because it was used by the new Mexican-American employees also. This lady would walk across the street to a restroom used by Anglo females only. Fourthly, there was the case of an Anglo high school girl who was very friendly with a Mexican-American boy. It was rumored that they were dating. As the story was relayed to the analyst an Anglo boy told the couple to discontinue the relationship. The Mexican-American boy told the Anglo it was none of his business, whereupon the Anglo boy attacked him physically. It was pointed out by Anglos that the Anglo boy was subsequently "ganged up on" by a group of Mexican-Americans and severely beaten.

Such acts are illustrative of boundary maintenance or the manner in which the social power relations between the two ethnic sectors are canalized.

Ethnic Boundaries and School Governance

The preceding discussion has described the manner in which North Town Anglos have generally perceived Mexican-Americans. Further, this set of cultural features provides a comparative context for analyzing the way in which schools and school-leadership has operated to maintain ethnic boundaries and power relations. The writer has mentioned on numerous occasions that both ethnic sectors believe that the control of schools is a crucial commodity in controlling the environment. The following section attempts to show that school-leadership has reflected the locale's ethnic spatial and social differentiation. This will include a description of the cultural features that have been used by Anglos in the process of governing schools.

The school board has traditionally been composed of Anglo farmers and businessmen.[1] A review of the voting behavior in choosing school board members since 1948, when the school system became an independent district, shows that there has been a total of forty-six board members. There were a few years when only twenty or thirty persons voted for the board members, but the overall average is 465.5 votes per year. However, this figure doesn't provide a good insight of the ethnic issue. The period from 1949 to 1960 averages 221 votes per year. Then in 1961 two Mexican-Americans competed for board membership and a record 1,080 votes were cast. They were defeated, and the voting recedes to the usual average of several hundred. Yet, this particular event apparently stimulated some re-thinking by Anglos about Mexican-American representation on the school board. The following year, 1962, a prominent Mexican-American farmer ran and was elected. Anglos explained that this resulted from an increasing realization by Anglos that Mexican-American school children should be represented. It is noteworthy that the new Mexican-American board member reflected the entrepreneurial work-ethic held by Anglos. Further, another Mexican-American who ran for the board the same year was not elected. The difference between the two candidates, as explained by Anglos, was that the defeated candidate did not exhibit the type of qualities that Anglos could support. At this stage of ethnic relations the ability to win public office necessitated Anglo support.

The second Mexican-American board member was elected in 1964. Some Anglos said that this man "sorta snuck-up on us." That is, the Mexicano manifested some of the entrepreneurial qualities but was not as aggressive in his work behavior as the first Mexicano board member, so he did not stir up a great deal of Anglo fear which triggers a large voter turn-out. This board member is remembered by Anglos as seeking the status of board membership but was not willing to work at the job. After about a year of poor participation he left North Town. This helped to confirm Anglo beliefs about Mexican-Americans as generally lazy and unambitious, or "you can't count on them to do the job."

The third Mexican-American to serve on the school board was appointed by the Anglo controlled board to fill an unexpired term in late 1965. This man was also a successful businessman in the county--again, exhibiting those values that are closely held by Anglos. In 1967, when the first Mexican-American board member resigned due to pressing business interests, another Mexicano was appointed in his place. The replacement also demonstrated the work-ethic and was believed to be a man who wanted to "get along." Again, Anglos did the choosing.

In 1968 the board decided to run according to position, rather than continue to follow the traditional at-large procedure. Anglos explained this change as a device to keep the increasing Mexican plurality from occupying all the board positions. With candidates running by position, the Anglos have been able to manipulate the election by getting "good" Mexicans to run and split the Mexican-American vote and thereby elect the more desirable candidates. Anglos point out that they were outmaneuvered by the Mexicans in 1968. During this election the Mexican-Americans were represented by one candidate in each of three positions and the Anglos had several, which split the latter's votes. This election caused a larger than usual voter turn-out. There were 1,157 votes cast.

The next several years were quiet relative to school board elections, only the traditional several-hundred votes were cast each year. Mexicanos began to lose interest in the school board. One of the Mexicano board members resigned and the other evidently decided not to run again. In 1971 another Mexican-American ran and won, but the votes are not recorded in the Minutes. The election of 1972 tended to be a relatively quiet election, but three more Mexican-Americans gained board membership. These latter candidates seemed to have operated out of a belief that Mexicanos should and could participate in the governance of the school system. This was also the period of the Mexicanos' take-over of the city council, but an overt anti-Anglo hostility was not prevalent. Most of the Mexicano politicos at this time were basically attempting to maximize the Anglo ideal of local community betterment and felt that they could best serve their own ethnic sector. Anglo votes were solicited and the clear polarization of ethnic sectors which developed in late 1972 and 1973 was not generally shared by Mexicanos.

Anglos explained the election of Mexican-Americans in 1972 as a result of the fact that most Anglos were ignorant of the La Raza Unida "plot" to take over and run the Anglos out. Nothing so dramatically illustrates the Anglos' fear of the Mexicanos taking over the schools as does the voting behavior of 1973. During this election 2,274 votes were cast in the school board election. The Anglo incumbents won the positions.

The Board Minutes reveal considerable Anglo internal competition. Relative to South Town, North Town Anglos have experienced considerable competition for seats on the school board. The issues triggering such activity generally relate to non-academic affairs. There have been a number of concerted efforts to gain membership on the board in order to fire the football coach or an administrator. Teachers have been covert targets on several occasions. The reasons given by Anglos for wanting to get rid of teachers has been related to one of two categories. Either the teacher in question did not deal justly with someone's son or daughter, or the teacher exhibited social behavior that ran counter to the prevailing customs. This latter characteristic may include drinking, dress, language, or a personality that could be defined by locals as "wierd."

In order to understand the tenuous social and political position of North Town's teachers it is necessary to describe the way in which local Anglos have competed for school positions and awards. North Town high school has had a series of academic awards as well as social positions (officers, favorites, cheerleaders, etc.) that have traditionally been allocated by the teaching faculty--until around the mid-1960's. Anglos describe cases where various families went to a great deal of trouble and effort to "court" the favor of the teachers. One man had the special reputation of throwing a yearly barbeque for the teachers as a means of gaining their favor for his children. A number of informants testify that prior to the Raza Unida threat, the history of North Town was a chronicle of competing informal family units--which carried over into the schools. The competition was over land, social recognition, and political office. The child's ability to compete successfully for school rewards has been perceived as part of the competitive socialization process and further enhanced the families' position. In fact, the child's school accomplishments reflected the family's social worth to the rest of the locale.

There are several cases which illustrate Anglo internal competition for control of the schools. First, in the School Board election of 1965, one candidate (referred to as Mr. White) ran to get rid of the superintendent. Mr. White had been a resident of North Town for a number of years and was able to count on the votes of his kin and a number of friends. In his attempt to gain membership on the board Mr. White joined forces with a prominent businessman, who shall be referred to as Mr. Shed. This latter gentleman also had a kin unit and a group of friends he could count on for support. However, in order not to create local Anglo antagonism he refused to run for the Board formally. Using the forces contributed by Mr. White he organized a write-in campaign. The vote margins between the three Anglos was close--501, 507, and 509. The Mexican-American candidate won easily, with 965 votes. Mr. Shed contested the election and demanded a recount, which resulted in an exchange of positions for two other candidates but did not help Mr. Shed get elected. It is interesting that Mr. Shed, when filing the suit, did not want to file it against any of the other Anglos, either candidates or existing Board Members, for fear of attracting power greater than his own. Therefore, he filed suit against the Mexican-American Board member.

Another incident that illustrates Anglo internal competition in the schools is that involving a Board member's niece--referred to hereafter as Mary. On this particular occasion Mary was a high school teacher and the Board had just hired a new superintendent. Mary confronted the new superintendent upon his arrival and told him that she would sponsor a certain organization in the high school. Evidently, Mary specified what she would do as well as what she would not do as a teacher in his administration. Mary and a relative, who was also a teacher at this time, threatened to resign their teaching positions if the superintendent did not meet Mary's demands. At the Board meeting at which the resignations were presented by her uncle, the uncle stood up and started to give a speech relating the great qualities of his two teacher relatives. Before he could get very deep into the presentation, another Anglo Board member shouted a motion to accept the resignations and it passed quickly. The Anglo history in North Town is replete with such competition.

The tax issue is related to the value-class of good business practice, or economizing, in administering the school system. School leadership positions, such as Board members and professional administrators are believed to be associated with this value-class. School leadership is judged by local Anglos in reference to good sound business practices. Whatever other qualities a school leader or a potential school leader might have, to local Anglos the quality that heads the list is the ability to carry out economically sound business practices. Further, local Anglos often desire a personalistic relationship with school leaders that will enable them to influence the activities of those leaders or, in case this fails, the decision may be made to become board members themselves.

The value-class of good business practices influences the Anglos' beliefs about the Mexican-Americans' ability to function as school leaders. They fear the Mexican-Americans' inability to operate a business. As specified earlier, Anglos believe Mexicanos cannot be trusted with money, they are dumb, and they take care of their own, that is, they are clannish. This means, among other things, that Mexican-Americans are expected to waste precious Anglo tax dollars. Secondly, since Mexican-Americans are clannish and take care of their own, they are expected to impede the Anglos' use of the personalistic relationship that has influenced decisions in the school system. Mexican-American school leadership will be "brokering" the interests of their own ethnic sector and not that of the Anglos.

A further dimension of traditional Anglo control is exemplified by the School Board members' perceptions of teachers. Historically most teachers have been of local origin. This has been gradually changing over the last few years. Anglo Board members, however, prefer locals as opposed to non-locals. Locals are believed to have an "investment" in North Town. What this ultimately means is that locals share the local culture--the system of meanings defining ethnic relations. They will do more, it is said, than put in a working day and pick up their pay check. That is, local Anglos are dedicated teachers. In contrast, non-local teachers are either cast-offs from a better school system or they are on their way up. The good non-locals will stay a year and go on to a better job.

Control of teachers' behavior is defined as extending beyond the school campus. Several times teachers have been reported for drinking, either at their own homes, or at a private party. Such behavior was reprimanded by the School Board. Non-local teachers are watched very closely for what locals consider deviant behavior. On the other hand, it seems that Mexican-American Board members would rather have non-local school teachers. They consider non-local Anglo teachers as not sharing the local Anglos' perceptions of Mexican-Americans.

Student control is an overriding concern of school leadership in North Town. Teachers are judged primarily on their ability to control their classes. Hence a basic cultural value transmitted through the schools in North

Town is the recognition of authority. An attribute transmitted at the same time is the ability to subsume oneself in a group. Although the field analysis did not include classroom observations, interviews with teachers and school leaders gave the impression that a student who quietly attends class and does not wear long hair, use drugs, or behave immorally or obnoxiously, will find that his passage through the school system is easily facilitated. Over the last several years the school board has spent a great deal of time coping with students' behavior in terms of hair, drugs, drinking, and general discipline problems.

The school campus has been restricted traditionally to the use of the English language. It was not until June, 1972, that the Board deleted this rule. The rationale behind this act was that it forced Mexican-American students to learn English. The Mexican-American board members were largely responsible for getting this deleted at the local school level.

Anglo control of schools has generally been used to transmit overt signs of acculturation--outward appearance in terms of cleanliness, dress, hair, proper behavior. Yet, Anglos of North Town are not very proud of their schools academically. They believe they get left-over teachers who do a poor job of teaching, but they are unwilling to pay competitive salaries to entice what they believe to be better teachers. On several occasions it was pointed out to the analyst how glad certain parents were that their offspring were in classes predominantly Anglo. Mexican-Americans are seen as increasing source of academic retardation for Anglo students.

Historically the schools have not been ethnically integrated. There was a Black school which was abandoned in the 1950's, but there has never been more than three or four Black families in this county. Up until 1970 the Westside school was for Mexican-American students. When HEW and Mexican-Americans began to pressure for an integrated school system there was a great deal of local Anglo conflict. The Board built a new school building on the west side of town and all students now attend the first three grades at the location. Some Mexican-Americans were quick to point out that the Anglos did not want their children attending the shabbier facilities of the earlier west side school. Some informants described the manner in which, historically, Anglos allocated the "used" school resources to the Mexican-American and Black schools. In the board minutes for September, 1953, the Board sent used desks to the Black school. Mexicanos point out that in the past if they "accidentally" got a good teacher from out-of-town, that teacher was inevitably transferred to the Anglo school.

Anglos Lose Control of Schools

North Town Anglos began to lose control of their school system in the 1960's. First, the upper-level articulations increased. New guidelines for integrated schools came from the Federal levels. There was an increase of federal funds available, especially through the Education Act of 1965. As the locals participated in these federal programs they found more stringent rules attached year by year, while an increased financial burden was placed on the local school district. In terms of state level articulations, the Texas Education Agency became more prominent in local affairs. At the same time state teacher organizations developed a powerful lobby and were able to gain legislation defined as beneficial to teachers, but perceived by local school leaders as decreasing their control.

Secondly, there was a rise of Mexican-American leadership and an increased Mexican-American voting public--as described in a previous section. Until the early 1970's Mexican-American school board members tended to share the cultural values of the Anglos. This was the criteria for Anglos choosing some of the early Mexicano Board members. When a Mexican-American candidate for school board membership was known to possess a different value system, the Anglos turned out a heavy vote against him. During the period of analysis the writer noticed a gradual shift in the values of the Mexican-American Board members. During the early months of the field work period the Board voted together regarding textbooks, teachers, student discipline problems, and so forth. The feelings of cultural inferiority which informants mentioned characterized early Mexicano school leaders continued to manifest themselves even as late as the Winter of 1973. The analyst observed a pattern of ethnic differentiation in school board meetings. Anglos would often smile secretively to each other when a Mexican-American board member attempted to initiate some new program. More illustratively was the quiet, submissive manner in which Mexican-Americans conducted themselves before the Anglos. They often acted socially and culturally intimidated. It was not until late Winter or early Spring of 1973 that a very clear ethnic dichotimization began to manifest itself.

Nevertheless, the presence of the Mexicanos on the Board and the interaction which followed has placed the two ethnic sectors in a new relationship since the early 1960's. The latter seem to have been made more aware and responsive to needs manifesting themselves in the Mexican-American sector of North Town. Several board decisions illustrate this change. For example, a migrant school program was introduced in the late 1960's. A Mexican-American coach was hired in 1971, and the district voted with a great deal of reluctance to enter the "school lunch program". Some

Anglos on the school board have increasingly favored a bilingual program to be applied to the early school years and an increased number of Mexican-American teachers. Several Anglo school board members have pushed the need to teach the Mexican-American child through his, or her, own cultural experiences. It is clear that the change in power relationships in relation to the governance of schools is leading some Anglos to rethink old belief potential estimates regarding Mexican-Americans, yet the traditional boundaries still persist.

Anglo administrative personnel generally perceive themselves as "outsiders." They tend to share ambivalent feelings with regard to the local socio-cultural milieu. On the one hand, as Anglos, they share the cultural meanings held by North Town Anglos regarding the role of schooling. On the other hand, they find themselves increasingly under the control of Mexican-American school board members. Some personnel describe the local ethnic confrontation as a result of the unequal distribution of wealth and life chances over the years. They speak of the fact that the Mexican-American has always been inexpensive labor for the Anglos and that the present conflict is a result of a believed threat to the local economy. From observation and informants' accounts of Anglo administrators' behavior there is reason to believe that the latter attempted to broker (transmit, pass on) the idea of unequal distribution of wealth and life chances among the locals. Thus, the cultural difference regarding local ethnic relations held by some Anglo school administrators cannot be specified as an important source of potential socio-cultural change in the two locales.

Some Anglo school personnel suggested that the local ethnic problems are due to the inability of Mexican-American parents to stimulate their children to get an education and work hard. All school personnel find themselves participating, in some degree, in the same boundary maintenance system as the local Anglos and tend to eschew the same beliefs regarding the Mexican-Americans. This is to say that Anglo school personnel, even though outsiders, tend to believe that the Mexicano is generally dirty, lazy, dumb, and has little or no initiative. Nothing so aptly illustrates this point as an early interview with one local Anglo administrator. After spending several hours describing the subordinate plight of the Mexican-American and sounding like he did not really share the local perceptions, he concluded by telling the analyst to talk with a man who could provide more information, and as an afterthought he added, "He's a Mexican, but a good ole boy." One must conclude that local Anglos are successfully brokering their belief system regarding the Mexican-American to non-local school personnel.

Summarily, Anglos of North Town interpret their settlement and the related dominance of the Mexican-Americans within the context of "cultural superiority" and the concomitant belief in manifest destiny. Historically the basic ethnic labor-relationships have led to the development of a series of meanings regarding Mexican-Americans which operate to keep the two units separate. In this separate relationship the Anglos have occupied a superior position of power. Further, there are spatial and social boundaries differentiating the two ethnic sectors. All of the formal institutions have functioned to maintain these ethnic boundaries and relative power positions. The control of schools has been an important mechanism in the process of maintaining Anglo superordination. Although there has been a great deal of internal competition between Anglos for the school's scarce resources they have been united in their desire to use the school system in order to maintain their dominance over the Mexican-Americans. The state and federal power articulations of the last decade have undermined some of the local Anglo control of the schools and forced them to seek a coalition with Mexicanos they believe exhibit "anglo" cultural features--especially the work-ethic. These acceptable Mexicanos also manifest submissive behaviors, which is less threatening to local Anglos.

The following section will describe how North Town Mexican-Americans interpret their settlement and historic relations with the Anglos.

North Town Mexican-American Interpretations of Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations

North County has no extant material related to the specific history of local Mexicano settlement, as was the case with the Anglo population. However, Mexicanos generally share a pervasive idea that their local history is characterized by Anglo suppression--social and cultural. The present discussion will attempt to reconstruct the local Mexican-American settlement by first, using existing literature about Mexican-Americans to overcome the lack of historical data in the two locales. The writer assumes that the two locales share the history of the Southwest in terms of the broad outlines set forth in the literature. Second, ethnographic data will be used to relate the broad historical themes to the two counties. Third, the concept of "internal colonialism" will be developed as a way of describing the historic Anglo-Mexicano relationships from the perspective of the Mexicano.

It is common knowledge that South Texas was Spanish, then Mexican territory, for several centuries prior to 1848 (cf. Acuna 1972; Grebler et al. 1970:40f: McLemore 1973). Although the territory presently known as Texas won its independence in 1836, the Spanish and Mexican settlers who populated the Rio Grande Valley and adjacent northern border areas as well as the Mexican government conceived the border as along the Nueces River and not the Rio Grande, as did the United States. This disagreement led to the war with Mexico in 1846, and the subsequent invasion by American troops at Vera Cruz and Mexico City (McLemore 1973).

The region of South Texas was sparsely settled during the period of Spanish and Mexican ownership. The Mexican government encouraged Anglo settlement in the early nineteenth century. The new Anglo immigrants rapidly encountered competition for control of the territory. When the colonization first began in the early nineteenth century, Spanish or Mexican inhabitants were estimated, according to Grebler (1970:43) as numbering some 4,000. Anglos outnumbered the Mexicans in the area by five to one at the time of the Texas Revolution (*Ibid.*).

The economic subordination of Mexicans in the region is correlated with the emergence of large scale Anglo ranching operations during the last half of the nineteenth century (Acuna 1972; Grebler et al. 1970; McLemore 1973). In contrast, the Mexicanos had small-scale farms with livestock as a secondary enterprise. The introduction of barbed wire in the 1870's manifested a new land concept. Prior to this land closure, Mexican stock (sheep and cattle) moved fairly freely and pasturage was open. The barbed wire symbolized the Anglos' importance attached to land itself, as opposed to the more communal usage of land which characterized the Mexicanos' concept. The history of land use in South Texas during this early period reveals a trend toward a large ranching operation (Ibid.). South Texas in the nineteenth century experienced great conflict between the two ethnic sectors, but by the turn of the century the competition was basically over and the Mexican was canalized into a landless and wage-earning laborer (Ibid.).

An attempt to determine the extent of Mexican settlement in North County is fruitless.[2] In settlement terms the area of North County provides no evidence of Mexican settlers until the Anglo ranching/farming operations developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. At that time this area began to attract vaqueros (Mexican ranch hands) and field laborers from the border area. Yet, in order to understand why North Town Mexicanos think of themselves as indigenous it is necessary to contrast the Anglos' Protestant-capitalistic individualism of land ownership to the Mexicanos' emphasis on national origin as elaborated earlier.

North Town Mexicanos feel historically oppressed. Several leading Mexican-Americans referred to the movie "Sounder" as an analogy, if not homology, to the Mexicanos' traditional subordinate role in North Town. (Sounder was a movie regarding a Black family's oppression in the South.) On a number of occasions, Mexicanos were apt to describe local Anglos as able to "make a meskin outa you real quick." They were referring to the way some Anglos could efficiently create and maintain the subordinate social position of the Mexican-American.

A predestinarian interpretation of traditional Anglo-Mexicano relations is widespread, especially amongst the elderly Mexican-Americans. Mexican subordination is believed by many to be an ontological reality. For example, an informant attempted to get a 25 year old Mexican-American male to support the local Mexicano slate in the up-coming election found him to be against the Mexican-Americans running for political offices because "Anglos were made to be the bosses."

Mexican-Americans in North Town believe that Anglos are clannish. They point to the geographical boundaries, the Anglo social life, and especially voting patterns, to substantiate their claims. Anglos, they say, want Mexican-Americans to support Anglo candidates, but they never support the Mexican-Americans, unless it is one they have chosen and are able to control. Thus, the Anglos co-opt power from the Mexican-American by controlling a significant number of the Mexicano operating units.

Local Mexican-Americans describe a number of cases which are used to justify the belief of some that they have been historically subjugated by Anglos. First, they point to a number of tactics used by Anglos to subvert Mexicano power at the polls. It is said that the local sheriff and his deputies take pictures of all Mexican-American voters at the polls. The practice is intimidating to local Mexican-Americans for they fear reprisal from Anglo employers for this kind of political activity. A story, substantiated by several Anglo informants to support this contention concerns one Anglo rancher who was defeated for public office; he went home immediately and fired all of his Mexican-American workers, many of whom had worked for him for many years. It seems as though the Mexican-Americans had voted for his opponent. Some describe being threatened with a loss of their welfare checks if they participate in any type of political activity.

The preceding activity supports the Mexican-Americans' general contention that Anglos are devious and untrustworthy. They believe, for example, that Anglos misuse absentee voting by continuing to vote, when they have in fact moved.

Mexican-American informants in North Town were consistent in perceiving their subordinate position and the oppressive historical behavior of the Anglos. One person went to great lengths to describe her mother's role as a wash woman for Anglos. This particular woman, who spent her adult life in North Town, would walk across town to the Anglo sector and build her fire to heat the water to scrub the clothes of Anglo families for fifty cents a day. She was not allowed to go into the Anglo homes. She took her own sack lunch and would eat it under a tree, or any shelter she could find, regardless of rain or sleet.

Some Mexican-Americans are quick to point out the mechanisms used to maintain the boundaries of the ethnic power relationships. Informants claimed that one Mexican-American city hall employee was fired because she would not greet a certain Anglo councilman in a cheerful, subservient manner. Another Mexican-American claims she left her employment because of the consistent intimidating atmosphere created by Anglos who demanded she act in a subservient manner.

Over the years there seems to have developed different levels of power within the Mexican-American population. There are a number of emerging entrepreneurs--grocers, farmers, contractors, cafe operators, etc. Although the number of entrepreneurs is a very small minority, they tend to be perceived by others as a higher class of Mexican-American. Their business operations are almost totally confined to the Mexican-American population. Most have found themselves thrust into the role of local political leaders--whether desired or not. Their operational confinement to the Mexicano section of town has constrained their further economic development at this time. Local Mexicanos are aware of these occupational and social boundaries and feel they inhibit their initiative.

Any attempt by the analyst to characterize the social organization of the Mexican-American population of North Town is limited by the lack of attention given to this phenomenon during the period of field work. Such information is not crucial to the analysis of school leadership, but some generalizations are in order for a better understanding of the general operational context of the leaders. Generally Mexicanos tend to socialize among their kinship members. Field work conducted since the writer left North Town indicates that Mexicanos know their neighbors well, even though they spend most of their time in the kin unit.[3] Many informants are confined to the block or small neighborhood (barrio) where they have lived all their lives. The inability of the Mexicano politicos to organize the general population is probably related to the traditional subordinate-passive role and fear of economic retaliation from the Anglos, as expressed by many Mexican-American informants.

Mexican-American Perceptions of Schooling

As described earlier, Mexican-American involvement in the public school system is fairly recent. Traditionally Mexicanos have been disinterested in public education and those who have attempted to attend have a high drop-out rate. The disinterest has been fostered by the historical subordinate labor position. The boundaries defining the Mexicano as a laborer did not make upward social and economic mobility an available option in the Mexicanos' system of meanings. Thus, families have preferred the economic gain of work in the fields to schooling for their children. A significant percent of the population has traditionally migrated with the seasonal variation of the crops.

Given the history of Anglo domination of the schools the Mexican-American presently interprets the school system to be an Anglo possession, that is, they are "their schools." Although none of the informants expressed it as such, the analyst believes that generally the school system, such as the Anglo Boards, administrators, teachers, the heretofore dominant Anglo student body, and the curriculum, is somewhat akin to an alien environment to the Mexican-American. There is considerable evidence that the environment functions as a mechanism of cultural destruction. The school environment tends to negate the Mexicanos' culture (language, etc.), creating a negative self image in the Mexican-American students. (As mentioned earlier the better teachers were traditionally sent to the Anglo schools in North Town.) The Mexican-American school leaders are aware that local Anglos make the least desirable teachers for Mexican children because they tend to broker local Anglo culture regarding Anglo cultural superiority, yet these teachers are given preference in hiring. One Mexican-American informant related that her second grade son noticed his Anglo teacher touching and hugging the Anglo kids and not the Mexican-Americans. The mother went to the school and talked to the teacher regarding this particular practice. Another informant indicated that Anglo teachers had been far more compassionate to the Mexican-American children since Mexicano aides had been present in the classroom. Mexican-Americans tell numerous stories concerning the covert, and overt, manners in which Mexican-American students have been told they are dumb. One Anglo school leader supported this observation by maintaining that Mexican-American parents "get the run-around when they go to visit with Anglo school administrators." A further mechanism for keeping Mexicanos in the subordinate labor relation is the way Anglos track Mexican students into industrial arts and away from college and professions.

Some Mexican-Americans are further angered by the manner in which Anglos have tended to dominate the system of awards and offices within the school system. Until the late 1960's, even when the student body was predominantly Mexican-American, the Anglos always won academic honors, were always the cheerleaders, majorettes, class officers, most beautiful, most handsome, etc. One of the mechanisms used by Anglos to protect these believed scarce resources when the Mexican-Americans acquired a plurality of the student body was to create parallel systems of awards. For example, to parallel the elite status of Mr. and Miss North Town High School the Anglos set up a Senor and Senorita position. In 1968 the Mexican-American students refused to participate in this process and it was dropped.

As previously described, the increased number of Mexican-American students in the 1960's stimulated the Anglo board to "select" a Mexican-American board member to "handle" Mexican-American school problems. Some Mexican-Americans are increasingly perceptive concerning the fact that Anglos have attempted to co-opt their control through such tactics. However, as Mexican-Americans have increased their number on the School Board, the leaders have gradually gained increased independence from the Anglo power units and made gradual changes more beneficial to Mexican-American students. In the last few years Mexican-American students have moved to control the scarce resources in the school environment.

There have been increased attempts by Mexican-Americans to take control of the city and county political apparatus, but this will be described in a later chapter.

Mexican-Americans Conceptualize Anglo Relations as Internal Colonialism:

A Summary and Interpretation

Some social scientists and Mexican-Americans, especially those who define themselves as Chicanos, are increasingly conceptualizing the historical relationship with Anglos as a case of "internal colonialism" (Blauner 1972; Acuña 1972). Traditionally "colonialism" refers to the dominance of a foreign population over an indigenous population (Ibid.). The superordinates in such a relationship share an ethnocentrism which is conceived as "manifest destiny," or "divine right." This idea provides a rationale for their governance of the subordinate indigenous population. According to Casanova (1969:122) the early form of colonialism was settlement by the dominant population in an area, or territory, designated as unsettled. The historical corollary to this process is the subordination of indigenes by the immigrant population. Casanova (1969:118; 1973:240f) has applied the concept to the internal social relations of Mexico. It is possible to apply this concept to such cases as found in South Africa or the United States (Anglo relations with the Indians).

"Internal colonialism" refers to a continuation of previous patterns of subordination after a formal independence has been declared from the original "mother country." Such patterns include: first, economic control of the market by a metropolis dominated by the immigrant settlers, for the benefit of their own unit; second, the exploitation of the indigenous-subordinate population in terms of labor and wages, whether through "feudalism, capitalism, slavery, forced and salaried labor, share farming and peonage, and demand for free service," or a combination of these (Casanova 1973:241); third, there is a clear socio-cultural distinction between superordinates and subordinate populations (*op. cit.*). Often a language difference and contrasting life-styles between the two units lead to the creation of ethnocentric boundaries by the superordinate unit. Casanova finds these conditions to exist in Mexico between Mexicans (Mestizos) and the indigenous populations.

Acuna (1972) applies the concept of internal colonialism to the historic relations of Anglos and persons of

Mexican descent in the American Southwest. Colonialism exists when the following conditions prevail (1972:3).

1. The land of one people is invaded by people from another country, who later use military force to gain and maintain control.
2. The original inhabitants become subjects of the conquerors involuntarily.
3. The conquered have an alien culture and government imposed upon them.
4. The conquered become the victims of racism and cultural genocide and are relegated to a submerged status.
5. The conquered are rendered politically and economically powerless.
6. The conquerors feel they have a "mission" in occupying the area in question and believe that they have undeniable privileges by virtue of their conquest.

It is Acuña's contention that these conditions characterize the relations between "Chicanos" and Anglos in, what was, Mexico's Northwest territory. This concept has been neglected by historians because of cultural bias, that is, the covert acceptance by social scientists of the traditional Anglo belief that the territory was, de-jure, part of the American frontier and not a political sector of Mexico (Ibid.). Further, there is the prevailing belief among Anglos that the territory was acquired fairly in combat by "freedom loving settlers" (Ibid.). Acuña (1972:4f) denies this historical interpretation:

> While I acknowledge the geographical proximity of the area . . . and the fact that this is a modification of the strict definition of colonialism . . . I refute the conclusion that the Texas and Mexican-American wars were just, or that Mexico

> provoked them . . . the conditions attendant to colonialism, listed above, accompanied the U.S. take-over of the Southwest . . . I maintain that colonialism in the traditional sense did exist in the Southwest, and that the conquerors dominated and exploited the conquered . . . colonization still exists . . . there are variations . . . Anglo-Americans still exploit and manipulate Mexicans and still relegate them to a submerged caste . . . Mexicans are still denied political and economic determination and are still the victims of racial stereotypes and racial slurs promulgated by those who feel they are superior . . . now the colonization is internal . . . there is little difference between the Chicano's status in the "traditional colony" of the nineteenth century and in that Mexicans in the traditional colony were indigenous to the conquered land . . . now, while some are descendants of the Mexicans living in the area before the conquest, large number are technically descendents of immigrants . . .
>
> After 1910, in fact, almost one-eighth of Mexico's population migrated to the U.S., largely as a result of the push-pull of economic necessity . . . Southwest agribusiness "imported" Mexican workers to fill the need for cheap labor, and this manipulation of Mexican settlement or "colonies" . . . became nations within a nation . . . for psychologically, socially, and culturally they remain Mexican . . . little or no control over their political, economic, or educational destinies . . .

Acuña (Ibid.) further develops this theme by characterizing Anglo control over the Mexicanos in a variety of areas: first, political control within the colonies has been achieved by Anglos or Mexicanos under Anglo control; second, Anglos controlled the business, industry, and capital in the colonias; third, capital has been drained from the colonias in much the same way as it has been from underdeveloped countries; fourth, the colonias have provided Anglos with a source of cheap labor; and fifth, the school curriculum has been used to Americanize Mexican students and not to meet their felt needs. The remainder of Acuña's work is a chronicle of Anglo-Chicano relations utilizing this concept.

Robert Blauner (1972:84) generally agrees with Acuña's use of the concept "internal colonialism" as applied to the Anglo-Mexicano relationships in the Southwest. However, Blauner believes that cultural suppression has equal status with economic exploitation in defining internal colonialism. According to Blauner (1972:84) "the colonizing power carries out a policy that constrains, transforms, or destroys indigenous values, orientations, and ways of life." Anglos invaded and subjugated the indigenous Mexican population culturally and economically. Furthermore, Blauner contends that the so-called Mexican immigrants of the early twentieth century did not think of the Southwest as Anglo property, but were, in fact, still operating as though it were their own (1972:55).

The history of inter-ethnic relations in North Town fits closely the idea of internal-colonialism, from the belief system of some Mexicanos. The immigrant Anglos locked up and controlled the land and the market system. The Mexican population was indigenous to the "larger region" and provided the Anglos with a source of cheap labor. The labor differentiation resulted in the creation of a series of ethnocentric projections by the dominant Anglo population which resulted in believed cultural inferiority by Mexicancs and created an ethnic boundary which utilized such social institutions as the school as maintenance mechanisms. One of the latent functions of school leadership in North Town has been that of ethnic boundary maintenance. The following sections will explore the way in which Anglos and Mexican-Americans of South Town define and interpret their historic interrelationships.

South Town Anglos Interpret Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations

Anglos of South Town share a number of cultural features concerning their settlement and the Mexican-Americans with the North Town Anglos. South county's settlement parallels North county's in the nineteenth century. The territory was considered "free" and herds of wild mustangs roamed the area (Caste 1969). The earliest settler was a rancher named Waugh who moved into the area in 1856. By 1871 a fort had been established in what is now the southeast corner of the county and was serving 150 people with mail (*Ibid.*). The famous writer Sidney Porter, or O'Henry, worked on one of the early ranches. Early schooling was carried out in a tutorial manner by the first lawyer to settle in the area in the 1880's (*Ibid*).

The county was created in 1858 but remained attached to Bexar County for judicial purposes until 1880 (Ibid.). The railroad entered in 1881 providing easier access to markets for local ranchers and farmers, but also functioning to open up the territory to an influx of settlers. According to Casto (Ibid., 1969) the population jumped from 69 in 1870 to 2,139 in 1890 to 4,747 in 1910. With this influx of settlers came an increased attempt to farm the land. Land speculators attempted to exploit the settlement boom. Approximately 23 town sites were laid out during this early part of the twentieth century and publicity was distributed throughout the U.S. Often this publicity was erroneous. One "old family" informant in South Town described the experience of one Northern family that arrived on the train with all their belongings in the early decade of the twentieth century. They expected to find a new and heavily populated town that would be a replica of the publicity they had received. After gazing out across the brushy prairie, they asked a passing citizen to give them a ride to a particular street and address. The newcomer showed the local pictures of a thriving and bustling town provided by the land company. The local advised the newcomer that there was no such town and that it would be best if they would get back on the train and return to the North. Evidently they took the local's advise.

Although the attempt to develop farming was described in an earlier section, it is noteworthy, at this point, to mention that the history of South County's settlement is generally described in terms of Anglo movements and land usage. This correlates with the Anglo development of North County. The fundamental and, I believe, the most important difference between the two settlement patterns is the historical dominance of ranching in South County and farming in North County. Ranching initiated the "vaquero" pattern of labor relations between the two ethnic sectors. Such labor is not as intensive as field crop labor, nor does it follow seasonal variations. The majority of the land has been controlled by Anglo ranch families who have maintained small numbers of Mexican-American vaqueros and their families. These families lived on the ranch in the early decades, often for many years. This economic maintenance led to a patrón relationship that has carried over to the present day. One of the school leaders related the case of a female rancher who came to the school to check on "her kids." When the school leader pushed for an identity of the children it turned out to be the children of her Mexican vaqueros. She wanted to be sure that they were "behaving." It is of further interest to note that in the discussion that ensued the rancher made it very clear that Mexican-Americans have no business in school--they are uneducatable.

When the school leader recounted the great achievements of the Spanish Empire, and the conquest, and even the indigeneous civilizations, such as the Maya and the Aztec, all as a means of stressing the great cultural traditions, the ranch woman was adament that the local Mexican-Americans were of a "different breed." She was convinced of their genetic inferiority, to say nothing of their cultural subordination.

Although intensive farming with the accompanying population intensification had its "fling," the ranching operators have consistently controlled the social environment. Status is allocated to ranch families in relationship to the time depth of their settlement, i.e., a "nested hierarchy."

Since South Town was established as a legal entity in 1881 the political apparatus was controlled by ranchers. The land was donated by one of the early ranchers, who was a Polish immigrant. His relations still play a controlling role in local socio-political life. The founder's purpose in donating the land was to ensure an easier access to markets for his cattle. The founder also became one of the original county commissioners. His descendents portray those early years as characterized by a great amount of Anglo competition--ranch families as fragmented operating units competing for scarce resources. They described the founder's early life as characterized by a series of court litigations.

The courthouse and its legal-political apparatus have been a chief source of power over the years. One man served as sheriff for more than 30 years and was a significant superordinate in the county. Another man served as a county judge for a number of decades. It was difficult to determine ethnographically which of these offices was more dominant. Evidently the county judge and the sheriff operated at the same power level. The county judge appeared to be bureaucratically, and legally, a controlling unit "de jure." However, in the meaning system of the locals the real control does not always follow the legal proscriptions. This tends to be the case in South County's history.

In the last county election, the son of this early and dominant county judge attempted to run for the judge position and was defeated by another rancher. The locals said they did not want "another political machine."

The sheriff who dominated South County for most of the same period, which includes most of the first half of the twentieth century, is defined as being a very ruthless man. The analogy is often made to the political domination in Duval County by the present machine politics of George Parr. It is said, by Anglo and Mexican informants, that the sheriff would get a group of the Mexicans drunk, tie them together and herd them down the street to the polls. The Mexicanos would then vote as the sheriff dictated.

There were several cases in which the sheriff and county clerk united to gain control of land. One informant told of paying his property taxes while he was living in another part of the state. He kept his cancelled checks and receipts over the years. However, one day he was notified that he was delinquent in paying his taxes and had a given amount of time to settle the account. The informant gathered his records and traveled to South Town to confront the clerk and sheriff with his data. He found them to be unduly flustered by his confrontation; he believes they were setting him up to gain control of his property. There is a prevailing attitude among South Town Anglos that such transactions occurred many times in the past.

Local Anglos are quite candid concerning the traditional negative perceptions of "change." Several examples follow to substantiate this cultural feature. First, it was pointed out that the electric co-op which was built in North County could have been built in South County but local Anglo superordinates did not want it. Secondly, several newcomers interested in furthering the growth of the locale, made the contacts and worked out initial relationships with a boot company to establish a plant in South Town. Again, it was turned down by local Anglo elites.

Thirdly, an outsider bought a piece of land in South Town in order to build a business. The particular business he had in mind happened to compete with one owned by one of the leading Anglo families of South Town. Although this particular old leading family was primarily a ranch operation, it had several businesses on the side that one local Anglo referred to as "play-things." The family didn't seem to need the money brought in by business ventures. Nevertheless, the family moved in such a manner that a city ordinance was passed prohibiting the building of this type business in this particular section of town where the newcomer had bought a piece of land for business purposes. The outsider got the message and had to change the operation to a less threatening location and type of business.

Newcomers are defined and related to according to the "nested hierarchy" mentioned earlier. When a person or family is mentioned in a conversation, the response defining them relates to their time depth in South Town--"They've only been here since 1925."

The latest newcomers are generally school personnel, government employees (Border Patrol, Highway Patrol, Highway Department, Airport, County Agricultural Agents), a few ranchers and farmers, and businessmen. The ranching-farming and business categories are probably the areas exhibiting the least number of newcomers. On the one hand, the ranch and farm land has been locked up by a small number of families and is increasingly expensive. Young couples are unable to acquire land, unless it is inherited. As pointed out earlier, the land is increasingly purchased by outside urban dwellers or big agribusinesses, and these people do not settle locally. On the other hand, the business, "service industry," is limited by a stable and possibly declining population. Such services as banking, medical, and restaurant operations often attract newcomers. Generally, however, new businesses, or the continuation of old ones, are carried out by the more settled locals, relatively speaking.

Depending upon the length of time in residence, and as kin ties to the locals, newcomers vary in the degree to which they are integrated socially and politically. Most newcomers interviewed were highly critical of the clannishness of the locals. South Town exhibits an interesting pattern of allowing newcomers, in fact even encouraging them, to perform certain social functions, such as the president or chairmanship of a certain club or organization. At the same time, the local old-timers maintained control of these units in an informal manner. Several newcomers related the wav in which they made the circuit of heading up certain organizations and the consistent manner in which they were constantly constrained from innovation.

Several newcomers represented what the analyst considers an over-compensation to local social integration. Such persons were much more emphatic about the desirability of certain of their local cultural features, such as small town life, social egalitarianism, the Protestant work ethic, and so forth. They tended to over-romanticize the attributes of small town life. They also reflected Anglo cultural beliefs regarding local Mexican-Americans. When the analyst attempted to discover the source of their beliefs, the informants spoke of their ability to "adapt" to local conditions. It was also discovered that these informants tended to share each other's company socially. Thus, the newcomers had consciously decided to appropriate the local culture and interpret their lack of social acceptance as a lack of such appropriation, rather than a boundary mechanism used by locals to protect the local culture.

South Town's social activities, such as church attendance, organizational time invested in clubs, school activities, and so forth, are patterned along sex lines. Such extra-kin relationships are considered by the old families as the proper role of women, newcomers, and to some extent businessmen. The ranchers and farmers do not like social and political involvement. There is a local Lion's Club comprised traditionally of Anglo businessmen and newcomers. One old family male related how one member kept after him for years to join but he never would. He finally got so exasperated with this man's insistence that he accepted on a condition. This condition was that he never had to attend any of the meetings or social functions of the club. The friend agreed, the old-timer joined, and both have lived happily ever after.

The Anglo women have a garden club, a small business and professional women's club (newly created), a women's club, and a number of Protestant churches. Together with the school activities, this serves as the social network for Anglo women. If the stories told by some of the local males is true, there is considerable competition over the rewards and recognitions that these organizations distribute to local Anglo females. The Garden Club has a yearly flower show and awards are made for various categories of fine flowers. It is said that many women no longer speak to each other because of the competition related to that flower show. The analyst did not attempt to validate this data--for obvious reasons.

As specified earlier, these organizations have been strictly Anglo. The Protestant Churches have been traditionally segregated. Having visited most of the Protestant Church services it seems as though the ministers of these churches were chosen to fit the local cultural milieu. This includes the belief and maintenance of ethnic boundaries.

On several occasions, the analyst probed the history of Methodist appointments to South Town. It was clear that those Ministers who directed the congregation's attention to the superordinate-subordinate relationships that exist between the two ethnic sectors stayed very short terms and were highly disliked. The sermons preached during the period of field work reflected traditional values of morality, concern for one's neighbors, and salvation in the metaphysical sense. The analyst was interested to note the way in which the "neighbor" was defined. The neighbor was defined as "everyman" without using the term Mexican-American. But the concept of "helping" was so conceptualized that none seemingly had trouble fitting it into the traditional patrón-client relationship.

The Baptist Church seems to possess the missionary zeal to extend a non-Catholic enterprise into the Mexican-American sector. An informant told the analyst that the Mexican Baptist Church was started by the Anglos. This fits the patrón-client concept. Eventually, the Mexican-American Baptist Church members decided to operate their own church and this was interpreted by Anglo Baptists as creating a closed congregation. The Anglo Baptist, therefore, hired a Mexican-American assistant pastor who works among the Mexican-Americans. He encourages Mexican-Americans to attend Sunday School and church with the Anglos--and some do. In fact, their Sunday School class has grown so large that they took over one of the Anglo classrooms. This led one Anglo member to exclaim, "We gave them our class, what will they want next!"

It is interesting to note that the Baptist Church has been responsible for integrating the two ethnic sectors in the religious area. Traditionally the churches in South Texas have functioned to preserve ethnic boundaries. When attempting to account for this process informants describe the manner in which the pastor presented the missionary program to the congregation and the fact that a key old family member stood and supported it. The pastor was aware that without this man's backing it would not have been acceptable. In fact, in discussing this case with a number of Anglo Baptist members, they substantiated the fact that the old family members control the church's activities.

One factor which has lessened the historical Protestant-Catholic animosity was the role played by an elite businessman over the last several decades. The man, now deceased, settled in South Town during the 1920's. He became a school board member and eventually dominated that unit until his death. He was also a staunch Baptist. Yet, each Sunday morning, according to locals, he would attend Catholic mass prior to the Baptist services. Some feel this contributed toward breaking down the religious boundaries separating the ethnic sectors.

Mexican-Americans have traditionally provided the Anglo ranches and families of South County with cheap labor, as specified earlier. One rationale for this relates to the slim profit margins of the local ranching-farming industry. However, the local Anglos classify Mexicans as either Juan Tonks (Wets), migrants, local non-migrants (welfare recipients), or local entrepreneurs.

The Juan Tonks, or Wets, have historically been the back-bone of the local agricultural labor economy. As Mexican-Americans settle and become accustomed to the economy they tend to demand a higher wage than those who are illegally immigrating and eventually returning to Mexico. Thus, local Anglo ranchers are constantly watching their hills for new, and cheaper, Wets. The U.S. Border Patrol maintains fourteen men in South Town, who cover a number of counties in the region. According to several informants within this unit, the type and migratory pattern of "Wets" has gradually changed over the years. Until recently most "Wets" were unskilled manual laborers looking for any work along the border area. Now, however, the Wets coming across are semi-skilled to skilled laborers who travel to all parts of the U.S. They have a good idea of where they are going and for whom they are going to work.

An example of this was experienced by the analyst while visiting a ranch. The rancher and the analyst saw a man coming across the hills covered with cacti and mesquite brush. The rancher identified the man as a "Wet." The rancher sought to hire the "Wet," but he only wanted directions to another town where he was planning to work for a certain contractor. He was a skilled brick-layer. According to the border patrol and ranchers, hundreds of Wets migrate through South County each month.

The second category of Mexican-Americans, perceived by the Anglos,are the locals who annually migrate north with the field crops. This group is conceived as "work oriented", even though they are "dirty and dumb." The migrants are relatively free from the local agricultural economy and this tends to threaten local Anglos. The migrants are pushed North by the lack of work in the local area, as described previously. Since migrants are not as economically intimidated as the more stable Mexicanos they provide a source of potential competition for Anglos. There were several Anglos who voiced displeasure with the Mexican-American migrants. They felt there was plenty of work to do in South Town--yards to clean, homes to take care of, etc. The migrants are also viewed by Anglos as more "Anglocized" because of their northern experience. That is, they tend to speak better English, dress better and generally exhibit more Anglo-held features. This is undoubtedly due to the less rigid ethnic boundaries adhered to in the North.

A number of migrants, and former migrants, in both North and South Town, spoke with a great deal of emotion regarding their relationships with Anglos in the North. Evidently, they are often very close.

Local non-migrants are the Mexican-Americans who are the "welfare recipients." They are believed to be on the bottom rung in the ranking process, for they "do nothin'!" As expressed by one Anglo, "They just sit around, breed, drink, raise hell, and expect us to support them." The non-migrants fulfill the general cultural features attached by Anglos to being Mexican, such as heavy drinkers, jealous of each other, cruel to each other, family bound, clannish, want something for nothing, unable to handle money, and can't manage very well.

The fact that a significant number of local Mexican-Americans do not migrate, or work, but live off welfare, represents a series of acts that supports the belief that Mexican-Americans want something "for nothin' and are lazy." There are other cultural features that are less concretely attached to particular acts committed by certain Mexican-Americans. For example, Anglos reported that most, if not all, marriages are shotgun type. When the analyst asked for specific data the informants became very ambiguous or mentioned a case or two. Such features as drinking, promiscuity, and party-loving are commonly held--with varying degrees of seriousness.

Inner-ethnic cruelty and jealousy is documented heavily by Anglos who point to numerous cases of Mexican-Americans who strive to "make it" and are ridiculed by their fellows. It is axiomatic to Anglos that no one is crueler to a Mexican-American than another Mexican-American. They will point to cases where Mexican-American employers will underpay their Mexican employees or where the Mexican housekeeper has told Anglos how she appreciates working for them because Senora so-and-so hit her, or made her work extra hours with little or no pay, or such similar behavior. This helps reinforce the labor boundaries between the two groups.

The "hell raiser" feature has developed over the last decade with the initiation of the Mexican-American threat. Most of the La Raza Unida unit have not manifested any work habits Anglos can discern, therefore, the Anglos have decided that they are on welfare of some type. The local Economic Opportunity Development Corporation is perceived as being used to upset the local Mexican-American population by the "hell raisers" and the local Anglos are trying to get rid of the organization. The local Anglos see the Raza "boys" as drawing big salaries as employees of the Economic Opportunity Development Corporation. The Raza "boys" use the welfare work to disguise their political activity, according to local Anglos. That is, the social service carried out by the Economic Opportunity Development Corporation is, according to Anglos a front for Raza Unida. Anglos believe this is misusing the EODC.

The fact that most Mexican-Americans will not move to another locality where economic conditions are more lucrative upsets the Anglos. They believe that this unwillingness to leave the family unit is impeding the Mexican-Americans' upward economic and social mobility. One school leader stated that Southwestern Bell Telephone Company offered various jobs to South Town Mexican-Americans. However, none would accept because they would have had to leave the local area and, therefore, their kin unit. It should be mentioned that there is present among some Anglos in South Town a rationalization about the Mexican-Americans' subordinate cultural and social inferiority that relates to their genetic source. It seems as though South Town had a number of prostitutes during World War II. Servicemen from San Antonio used to frequent the locality. The extent of, or number of prostitutes, is unknown. At least in the minds of some Anglos it seemed to include the whole population of Mexican females. Therefore, the inferior behavior of students, et al., is due to inferior breeding, that is, "all are products of prostitutes."

Traditionally the preceding set of cultural features created and maintained ethnic boundaries in South Town. As was true in North Town, the railroad tracks function as a geographical spatial boundary between the two sectors The only difference is that in South Town the Mexican-Americans are settled on the east side and the Anglos on the west. The reverse pattern existed in North Town. You also hear stories from both sectors concerning the mechanisms historically used to maintain this system. A number of Anglos report that even as late as fifteen or twenty years ago Mexican-Americans caught on the west side of the tracks after dark or during daylight without a purpose were beaten up. This boundary is still maintained culturally, even though there are a number of Mexican-Americans who have moved into the west side in the last few years. An example of the boundary's persistence is represented by a series of comments made by an elderly Anglo woman to one of the informants. Since the Mexican-Americans had won a number of political offices in the city it was her opinion that "you see them driving around our side of town just to show us."

Traditionally the ranchers kept Mexican-American workers, vaqueros, et al., on their ranches. Some Anglo ranchers reported that it was common to keep Mexican-American workers from coming to town. On occasion they were driven off ranches without pay for their work--whether they had worked for years, months, weeks, or days. There is a tree on one ranch that is referred to by some Anglo locals as the "hanging tree." It was reported to have been used in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century as a means of disposing of "Wets" who ceased to be useful. Whether true or not, the story indicates the dimension of culturally perceived differences in the relations between the two ethnic sectors.

The patrón-client relationship was referred to earlier as one way of conceptualizing the Anglos' relationship to the Mexican-American. It is prevalent among local Anglos to relate to Mexican-Americans in a paternalistic manner. The paternalistic behaviors are so structured in the relationships that locals are not aware of their importance. Some of the leading ranchers spoke with a great deal of emotional pain regarding the recent political and social antagonisms directed their way by Mexican-Americans whom their family has "always helped and cared for." A deceased member of one ranch family evidently spent a great deal of her time as nurse, transporter, financer, and general all-around mother to such a large number of local Mexican-Americans that a Plaza in "Mexican Town" was named in her memory. The family is bitter about the hatred directed at them by local Mexican-Americans involved in the recent La Raza Unida Movement.

The fact that the patronage requires a reciprocal role relationship is aptly discerned by newcomers. Several Anglo newcomers pointed out to the analyst that Mexican-Americans continue to play the game with the local Anglos. Such role relationships specify that the subordinate Mexican-American relate to the Anglo in a very submissive, meek and happy manner, while the Anglo functions as a problem solver, financer, employer, and general manager for Mexican-American problems and affairs.

When local Anglos categorize local Mexican-American entrepreneurs they speak of "differences." This group, although small, is classed by Anglos as an elite Mexican-American unit. To some Anglos, those Mexican-Americans who enter the ranching operation successfully are considered almost as equal. A young Mexican-American couple from San Antonio inherited a considerable amount of land in the local area and began ranching that property about twelve years ago. Both are very light skinned and have become highly involved in local political and social life. One Anglo spoke of this couple as "not Mexican-American but Anglo." They share the local Anglo cultural system of meanings. There is another family in South Town who are of Mexican-American descent but are classed by local Anglos as being "almost Anglo." This family also operates a ranch.

Generally Anglos believe that the Mexican-Americans' tenacity in maintaining their language and clannish social behavior accounts for their inability to be assimilated. The near proximity of the border is believed to be a fundamental factor in this process. As one Anglo stated, "You can take the Mexican out of Mexico, but you can't take the Mexico out of the Mexican." This is a way of saying that you can't get the Mexican-American to acculturate. The fact that assimilation is the assumed goal for the Mexican-American population is important itself. This is another manifestation of assumed cultural superiority that supports the theme of manifest destiny underlying the history of Anglo settlement.

In the past few years the traditional categories of describing the Mexican-American has gradually given way to a more overriding organizational categorization--there are those who are Raza Unida and those who are not. As will be described later, the Anglos have created a political accommodation relationship with the non-Raza Unida Mexican-Americans. But even with the new political coalition the social boundaries are still maintained. That is, social interaction between the two ethnic sectors is absent. Anglos tend to be ignorant of Mexican-Americans on a personal basis. The Mexican-American geographical sector of town is not well known by Anglos in detail. Any attempts by the analyst to elicit information from Anglos concerning the organization of the Mexican-American population, the leadership "over there," received a blank response. This is reflected in the case of one Anglo mother who discussed her daughter's graduation from the local high school. She asked her daughter who all those Mexican-American graduates were and the daughter did not know. This is an indication of the extent to which the social boundaries are transmitted in the schools, but is also a very significant sign regarding the present organizational behavior of the two ethnic sectors.

Yet, Anglos notice the economic features of the local Mexican-American population because they function as outward symbols of assimilation. It was pointed out on several occasions that Mexican-Americans were making progress, because in earlier years their money was spent on such luxury items as fancy cars and televisions. Now Anglos notice they are beginning to pay attention to improving their homes and dressing themselves and their children. Their children no longer come to school dirty and shabbily dressed.

There is little doubt that Anglos fear the loss of labor associated with the upward mobility of local Mexican-Americans. This is correlated with the Anglos' fear of change in any area of life. One informant stated that a very respected Anglo was against the building of the new library for fear Mexican-Americans would learn to read and write. On another occasion a Mexican informant was relating a conversation he had with several Anglos concerning an increased number of Mexican-American students going to college. According to the informant, the Anglo response was, "Who's going to do the work?"

Ethnic Boundaries and School Governance

Early schooling, as pointed out in a previous section, was conducted through the tutorial process. By the turn of the century each small settlement in the county had its one room school house (cf. Casto 1969). There is good evidence that Anglo children provided the student bodies in each case. However, one Mexican-American lady, who is now in her 90's, was interviewed and recounted teaching a class of Mexican-American students in South Town as early as 1904. She was supported in this venture by one of the old families. There is no record regarding the length of this practice. Casto (1969) mentions that a Mexican-American boy attending South Town High School in 1938 was named an American Farmer while attending the F.F.A. National Convention in Kansas City. This, surely, was an exception and not the rule.

Some Anglos believe the school system has been good for their children. These people point to graduates who have gone off and made "good." There are a number of South Town Anglos who have become professors in some of the nation's more reputable universities, executives in big industry, and so forth. However, I suspect that this is more a relationship of Anglo social class and not of the schooling itself. There are others who point out the deficiencies they had to overcome when going to college, especially in the areas of math and science. Yet, local Anglos are prone to share affirmative perceptions of the local schools. Non-locals, or late newcomers, who are more transient due to the nature of their employment tend to project negative qualities on the school. They say the school system is no good, or it's weak, or their children are falling behind the rest of the state, and so forth. All local Anglos share a belief that teachers are a source of weakness. South Town Anglos share with North Town Anglos the belief that their teachers are generally cast-offs.

An analysis of school annuals since 1940 indicates that the percentage of Mexican-American students has gradually increased from 22% in 1940 to 75% in 1973. The school system was segregated at the lower elementary level during the memory span of all informants (cf. Rock:1952). The Anglo rationale for this division, or segregation, relates to the inability of Mexican-American children to speak English. In 1948 there were two heterogeneous sections set up with parents given choices as to which section their children would attend. As expected, few chose to mix their children. Rock (Ibid.) accounts for the increased number of "Latins" in upper grade levels between 1939-1951 in several ways. First, there was a change in promotional policy. Whereas traditionally "Latins" had to spend several years in each grade the change was made to socially promote in order to keep students up with their age group, regardless of academic achievement. Second, the schools were ethnically integrated. Third, the subject matter was broadened to include science, arts, Spanish, music, bank, shop and home-making. It was Rock's general conclusion, based on achievement tests conducted during these years, that desegregation of the two ethnic groups increased the percentage of low achievers in each class (5-8 grades). Instruction became more difficult, and most teachers were non-credentialed during this period of time. Also, a great proportion of "Latins" were achieving scores equal to, or greater than, the Anglo students, according to Rock (Ibid.). Most Anglos of South Town believe that too many Mexican-American students in the classrooms have retarded their childrens' achievements.

The School Board has been composed of Anglo ranchers and businessmen. Since the organization of the Independent

School District in May 1951, there have only been fifteen different Board members. A significant number of those serve the entire period. However, the Board was controlled by one man during this period of time. His control was so pervasive that former Board members state that the meetings would only last ten to fifteen minutes in order for this man to report the decisions that he had already made and to get the formal votes necessary for the minutes. Board members knew he had already made decisions without the prior approval of other members. This man also chose the new board replacements; thus there was very little competition. This period is also correlated with a set of locally produced professional school leaders. In comparison with the changes which have occurred since 1970 the period 1951-1970 is conceived by most as a dormant period. Several have conceptualized it as a time when the only concern was to "keep the doors open."

The voting patterns over the years provide an interesting insight into the social dimensions of local school leadership. The data also support the ethnographic evidence that the school system has always been tightly controlled by a small group of Anglos. The period of 1951-1973 can be divided into two eras of school leadership. For example, during the era of 1951-1967, when school leadership was controlled by one Anglo businessman, the vote was exceptionally light--an average of 51.44 votes cast in each election. However, 1968 initiates a period of intense competition. The voting gets exceedingly heavier--an average of 933.83 votes per year during 1968-1973. The minutes record an initial challenge from Anglos as well as Mexican-Americans in 1968. There were 260 votes cast. Yet, the same unit won and the next year interest dropped. Only 53 votes were cast. In 1970 the battle got more intense--1,228 votes were cast. This is also the year the Board instituted the practice of running by positions. Again the rationale was the same as found in North Town--to keep the Mexican-Americans from using their plurality to capture the whole School Board. Since 1970 the vote has increased each year. In 1973, 1,639 votes were cast. (This period of intense competition will be more fully described at a later time.)

The Anglo School Board which dominated the schools from 1950-1970 operated out of an economy value-class. The believed function of the Board at this time was to keep taxes down and spending at a minimum. An analysis of the School Board minutes during this period reveals that financial concerns dominated the School Board's attention. This School Board can be designated as a "caretaker Board." It is significantly correlated with an administrative staff which reflects this basic orientation, at least in the minds of the locals. There was only one superintendent during this period and he was completely dominated by the School Board chairman. Most of the teaching faculty and other administrative positions were occupied by local products. Each protected the other. The new School Board is so different that locals tend to view it as "innovative." It immediately moved to hire a new superintendent, who began to recruit new administrative personnel. This innovative period is responsible for enhancing the physical facilities and introducing some sixteen new academic programs. It is significant that the change in School Board composition has been accompanied by a different understanding of their task and a new set of professionals. This will be described more fully in another section.

The South Town School Board has traditionally selected local products as school personnel. That is, teachers and administrators. This tended to ensure control. Locals are perceived, as in North Town, as having a greater investment in local affairs. This includes the ethnic boundaries and the socialization factors associated with their maintenance. Non-local teachers and administrative personnel are generally perceived as possible change agents, or persons brokering outside values. However, neither the School Board, nor local non-school related Anglos, exhibited any concern with teachers' private lives as they did in North Town. There is not a great deal of social activity in South Town, but the Anglos seemed more relaxed with regard to teachers' private behavior. As long as a classroom is controlled a teacher does not receive a great deal of pressure. Last year a teacher's contract was not renewed because he was unable to control the students, even though he was a local product.

School leaders in South Town have generally believed that Anglos should be tracked into college and the professions, while the Mexican-Americans should be tracked into the trades. The school's professional leadership had been in the habit of tracking students in this manner for years, until recently challenged by Raza Unida members. School leaders traditionally share with local Anglos the belief that Mexican-American students are not as capable academically as the Anglos because of cultural impediments. One exception must be noted. One informant flatly denied such beliefs. The Anglo informant placed the blame on the school system itself. The analyst did not find this perception to be widespread, however.

The professional school personnel are generally aware of local ethnic boundaries, but due to their lack of social interaction with locals there is a significant degree of variation in details. Teachers do not have a great deal of overall social interaction with each other or the local citizenry. As a result they share a number of variations in their beliefs about the local ethnic boundaries. The administration is comprised almost totally of local products, who are aware of Board activities and local issues. In fact, the key mechanism for staying alive politically is the maintenance of key informants, as it was in North Town. On the other hand, teachers tend to rely on the administration for protection. They generally keep up with local affairs through the students. Single, non-local teachers, have a tendency to leave the area on Friday afternoons and return Sunday nights.

As in North Town there has been a tradition of student favoritism in South Town. The school has reflected the local control over rewards and scarce resources. One informant mentioned that each year when he goes to the local livestock show he knows beforehand what kids will get the awards. Traditionally Anglo students have maintained control of such positions as cheerleaders, majorettes, class favorites, school favorites, and academic awards. But this trend reversed itself in the 1960's when the Mexican-Americans gained majority status. However, an analysis of school annuals reveals that even when Mexican-Americans acquired the majority status the Anglos still maintained control of the rewards and offices, as mentioned in chapter two. There have been several mechanisms used to ensure this process in the past. First, a rule existed which stated that the top academic awards could only be computed in terms of four years attended at South Town High School.[3] Secondly, it was rumored that a certain grade level had to be maintained--which tended to remove the majority of the Mexican-American students from competition.

Anglos Lose Control of Schools

South Town Anglos generally agree with North Town Anglos that increased state and federal articulations have decreased local control. Yet, there is a difference between school leaders in the two locales regarding the importance attached to this fact. South Town school leaders never believed they had much local control to start with. The analyst will describe state and federal impact upon South Town's schools in the following section; however, school leaders were far more concerned with the loss of ethnic control of schools, that is, the increasing social dominance of Mexicano students. This introduction is not intended to minimize the importance of one source of change over the other, but rather to specify where Anglo school leaders' concerns presently rest.

There are a few cases of mixed dating between high school students. At school dances there is some mixed dancing. One Anglo mother spoke about her daughter's role in this process with some apprehension. The daughter had a Mexican-American boyfriend who called quite often, but they never dated. The mother admitted discouraging dating the boy and expressed her fears about mixed dating in general. Local Anglos are against it.

There are several mixed marriages amongst teachers in South Town. In one case, most familiar to the analyst, the Anglo husband tended to be alienated from both ethnic groups. It is rumored that the Anglos had the man followed ("tailed") for a considerable amount of time to see if he was selling drugs to students. No evidence was ever found to substantiate this allegation.

The 1960's brought an increased amount of upper-level controls to South Town school system, as it did to North Town. South Town followed North Town in participating in Federal educational programs. This has provided one of the major change elements during the 1960's. The Health, Education and Welfare Department demanded the desegregation of the elementary schools, and the Texas Education Agency has consistently demanded that funds be distributed equally between the two ethnic sectors. There is the added imperative that certain funds be used "only" for Mexican-American educational programs--such as the migrant school, the school lunch program, salaries of teacher aides, etc. As mentioned earlier the Economic Opportunity Development Corporation was set up and has contributed toward preschool programs. The Federal "VISTA" Program had a tremendous impact on the locale, and this will be discussed later. The upper-level articulations have increased over the years and local control has decreased in response. During this process the school has become what several Anglos defined as a "Mexican-American school." That is, the Mexican-American students are the majority (75%) and control the social life. In 1973 Mexican-American students captured sixty social positions and awards out of eighty. Further, the School Board is composed of a Mexican-American majority, and there are two Mexican-American administrators. These changes have forced several Anglo families to send their children to private urban schools. Several other Anglo families would do the same if financially able. The locals are within the domain of the State and Federal units in terms of funding, accreditation, teacher credentialing, and curriculum constraints. The school system, according to locals, provides a decreasing number of local choices and therefore the interest level of locals has consistently declined.

The present school leadership is of the general opinion that too much emphasis has been placed on the college track at the expense of learning a productive skill. Most think that the local schools should first teach one how to read and write, and secondly, how to do something that will enable the student to exist as an economic independent social unit. After that task is completed the student should have the survival instincts and skills to decide further academic processes. It is believed that the present high school graduates, and college graduates, are "not very useful." That is, "they don't know how to do anything."

Summary and Interpretation

Summarily, South Town Anglos share with North Town Anglos the dominant theme of cultural superiority. This includes the ideas of manifest destiny, hard-work ethic, innate intelligence for managing local affairs, being law-abiding and honest, possessing personal cleanliness, being financial responsibility toward family and others (taxpayer), not prone to physical violence, being sexually responsible, and having a strong faith in formal education. As in North Town the local Mexican-Americans are believed to exhibit contrasting cultural features which are labeled as inferior. The social boundaries separating the ethnic sectors in South Town are the products of the preceding system of meanings. The most pervasive historical pattern characterizing ethnic relations has been that of labor. Mexican-Americans have always been a source of cheap labor. Such formal institutions as the public school system and local churches have exhibited patterns of Anglo superordination of Mexicanos. For example, school board members, administrators, and teachers, are valued in terms of their ability and willingness to adhere to and exhibit the local Anglo culture regarding ethnic differentiation.

The following section will set up a contrast between the culture of South Town Anglos and Mexicanos by describing the way in which the latter define and interpret local ethnic relations.

South Town Mexican-Americans Interpret Local Social Evolution and Ethnic Relations

Early Mexican-American settlement of the area is correlated with the Anglo settlement and the labor needs of the agricultural operations as stated earlier. The area is contiguous to North County and the patterns are very similar. Again, the deviation from this theme in South County revolves around the dominant ranching operations and the habitats' inability to allow a maximization of farming. Thus, the environment has set some upward parameters upon the population, as stated in Chapter two.

Most Mexican-Americans of South Town seem to be conscious of their historical subordinate relationship to the Anglos, as are those in North Town. There is a prevailing tendency, especially among some of the younger Mexican-Americans, to blame the founders' descendents for the railroad boundary, and its implications for creating and maintaining social and economic barriers. For example, there were several who described how Anglo males would often entertain themselves after ball games by beating up on Mexican-American males who were leaving the game. Another informant related how the local Catholic mass was traditionally segregated in seating arrangements. The few Anglo Catholics always had a preferred seating area and Mexican-Americans were not allowed to sit in this section. The informant described with great delight the morning she decided that this was wrong and decided to sit in the Anglo section. She refused to move and received a number of shocked and dismayed glares from members of both ethnic sectors.

On another occasion an informant described the manner in which she decided it was time to end the segregated seating at the small local movie theatre. The balcony was traditionally reserved for Mexican-Americans. She decided to sit in the Anglo section downstairs. She heard several derogatory comments from Anglos, some laughter from Anglo males, but none attempted to remove her. However, this did not seem to halt the seating practices in the years to come.

Further boundaries have been set up and maintained in political activities. Mexican informants state that elections were never publicized in the Mexican-American sector of town. This failure is a result of the Anglos' belief that Mexican-Americans are dumb and unable to know what's best for them. Thus the need for a patrón is rationalized--a paternalistic relationship. One informant stated that he had paid his poll tax and registered to vote for twenty-two years, but never knew there were any elections until after the fact. Another case was described by a man who worked for Anglos in a local business. This gentleman was interacting with Anglos each day of the week and was never informed concerning elections. He stated that one day his boss was leaving and asked him if he was going to vote. He said he was not. He explained that he did not know enough about the election to vote intelligently, that this was the first time that anyone had said anything to him about the elections being held.

Mexican-Americans believe that there has always been a significant number of very literate entrepreneurs within the local Mexican-American population, in contradiction to the beliefs of Anglos. There is a prevailing Mexican-American hostility regarding Anglos' "devious" and ethnocentric means of keeping these persons from participating in the local politics.

Local Mexican-Americans point to World War II as a watershed in their understanding of ethnic relations in South Town. The military service experience put the local

Mexican-American males in an environment with different ethnic power relationships. The ethnic boundaries were not maintained in the military as in South Town. Most Mexican-American males came back after the war with a realization that the prevailing ethnic relationships were not ontological, but endemic to the local milieu. They began to blame Anglos for the development and maintenance of this phenomenon. It should be noted that the Anglo conceptualization of predestination regarding the relationships is also shared by a significant number of Mexicans in South Town, as it was in North Town. This is evidently localized among the elderly and is therefore gradually fading from the meaning system of the local population. Several elderly Mexican-Americans stated that God set up the relationship of Anglo domination. Further, the Anglos had always treated them kindly, so "why try to change what is ordained to be."

There has not been a great deal of extra kinship social organization among the Mexican-American population, relative to the Anglos. Besides the Catholic Church, there has been an attempt to keep a Latin-American club organized, but the membership and participation has been limited to a very few, and it was originally church related. The national League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) organization tried to start a chapter in South Town but failed, due to a lack of interest. Recent federal programs have stimulated an organization called the Barrio's Betterment. Its purpose had been to fulfill federal guidelines for local funding. Its meetings attract a fairly good crowd which represents the new housing projects and Raza Unida unit. The recent La Raza Unida Party has started several youth organizations and stirred up considerable organizational interest amongst Mexican-American persons--but this will be described in detail in a later chapter.

There are some social distinctions made by Mexican-Americans regarding the power relationships amongst themselves. The entrepreneurs tend to perceive themselves as a different class than the majority of the Mexican-Americans. One informant described his entrance into the local area after the Mexican Revolution of 1910 in Mexico. He was literate in Spanish and his progress through school was easily facilitated. As a young man, he was operating several different businesses, but had to close one facility down because of "bad" habits of the returning migrants. The migrants are perceived, by this man, as picking up bad habits in the north from gangsters and Anglos--such as stealing, bad language, loose morals. The subordinates, or lower class Mexican-Americans, are defined in their illiteracy, lack of initiative (laziness), and historical manual laboring life style.

Almost invariably the analyst picked up the same information from other Mexican-American elites. The lady described earlier as a teacher in the early part of the century was quite adamant that she and her husband were "not the same" as all the other Mexican-Americans in the area. Elva (a pseudonym), and her husband ran a small store at the turn of the century and evidently had little or no social contact with the majority of local Mexican-Americans. Her daughter described the way they attempted to beat the local segregated educational system. It's very intriguing. Evidently Elva became good friends with one of the local "old family" women, whom we described earlier as having been a mother to the Mexican-American people during the early periods in South Town. Elva decided her children needed better schooling than they could get if they continued in the segregated Mexican-American school. With the help of her Anglo friend enrolled the children in what she calls the "American School." She demanded they be accepted, and they were. Elva continued this practice, but didn't think too highly of the local "American School" either, so she arranged for at least one of the children to attend school in San Antonio each year. That is, after a year of schooling in San Antonio one child would return to South Town and another child would go to San Antonio for the next year. She would rotate the children in this manner.

The history of Mexican-American settlement in the area is characterized by a number of persons, like Elva in the early twentieth century, who believed themselves socially and culturally superior to the rest of the Mexican-American populace. Yet, these Mexican-American elites were generally categorized by Anglos in the same inferior cultural category as all other Mexicanos. Thus, there was often an attempt by Mexican elites to over-compensate for their subordinate role. The analyst discovered that many of the Mexican-American elites not only shared Anglo cultural features attached to Mexican-Americans, but often expressed them in a more intense manner. It seems to illustrate that the cultural features and boundaries created by the ethnic relationships are so sharp and penetrating that an attempt to escape is intensely painful. The damage to one's self-image is incredible. This whole process provides an important clue to the vociferous nature of the Raza Unida movement that we will discuss later.

Mexican-American Perceptions of Schooling

Historically Mexican-Americans in South County have not perceived the need for schooling. This feature they share with North County Mexican-Americans. However, this belief began to change in the 1940's and has continued to depreciate since. In fact, it would be safe to describe the contemporary Mexican-American parental population as viewing schooling as the most viable means to upward social and economic mobility. There are many Mexican-Americans who firmly believe that Anglos have inhibited Mexican-American education. Mexican-Americans will often describe the way Anglos have manipulated the school system to keep Mexican youth from getting scarce awards. Some believe that there was an early rule that only children whose parents attended South Town High School could receive certain awards. This belief was not found among the Board Minutes, nor among Anglo informants. Mexican-Americans explain that Anglos are "tricky" this way, that is, they will state the existence of some rule or law and the Mexican-American has to believe it exists because he has no means to disprove such statements. So, they admit, it might have been a rumor, but it effectively intimidated Mexican-Americans. Such has been the pattern of the relationships. When an Anglo says something is true, (a rule, law, etc.) the Mexican traditionally has had to accept it. There were no power or cultural brokers from the state or federal levels that could be utilized to challenge Anglo contentions.

Most Mexican-Americans have been aware of the Anglo dominance of school leadership and some believe such reflects an "oppression" of Mexicanos. Mexican-Americans describe the function of school leadership as not only brokering local ethnic boundaries related to achievement and awards, but also in distributing scarce resources. The used equipment always went to the Mexican-American schools, and the newer equipment to the Anglo schools. When the Federal Government demanded the facilities be integrated, the Anglos immediately fixed up the schools so their children would have better facilities. Outdoor restrooms were modernized, new playground equipment was purchased, rooms were painted, some new furniture was purchased, a new fence was constructed around the play area, and so forth. Mexican-Americans are quick to point out that Anglos didn't focus on these bad conditions previously because their children did not have to go there.

Some Mexican-Americans are aware of the manner in which Anglos have tracked their children into the manual labor type jobs. They are now demanding that they be tracked into the professions. They want their children to have a chance to go to college in the same manner in which Anglos do. However, there is evidence that the negative subordination self-image is still present amongst Mexican-Americans. Mexican-American teachers relate that students will often attempt to "cop out" on homework, or classroom work, by stating that there is no future in doing such work, for "I will work in the fields like my parents." Or again, "I can't do that, I'm a Mexican."

Although the fact that few Mexican-American youths have graduated and achieved socially is used by Anglos to justify their belief that the others are just too lazy and dumb, Mexican-American teachers and school personnel use the same phenomenon as a model in attempting to break the negative self-image created by Anglo boundaries. There is evidence to support the premise that most Mexican-American parents are as anxious for their children to get a good education as Anglo parents are for their children. As several parents expressed it, "I want my children to have it better than I did."

An analysis of school annuals indicates the predominance of Mexican-American students and lends credence to the Anglos' belief that the schools are now "Mexican-American." Many Mexicanos and Chicanos would maintain that this is not totally true. It is their contention that the majority of teachers and administrators need to be Mexican-American. Further, curriculum adjustments need to be made by Mexican-Americans. It is contended that the Anglo cultural constraint systems will operate the schooling process, no matter what the percent of Mexican-American students. Some say that the effect of this Anglo dominance has been to create an atmosphere of "cultural genocide."

There is an increased amount of overt hostility manifesting itself toward Anglo teachers and administrative personnel in the last few years. During the Fall of 1973 Mexican-American parents were upset because Anglo teachers at the elementary school were helping their children fix their clothes--pin up torn places, clean up, etc. When I sought to locate the reasons, it basically boiled down to the fact that some Mexican-American parents don't want Anglo teachers touching their children, nor communicating the idea that they are not dressed properly.

Mexican-American teachers in South Town differ in the way they view their teaching role. The majority see their task as assimilating Mexican-American kids into the Anglo socio-cultural system. A minority, however, believe that the Mexican-Americans must get some schooling and the necessary credentials in order to "beat the Anglos at their own game." That is, schooling and the information acquired, is necessary to capture the socio-economic positions traditionally occupied by Anglos--teachers, bankers, lawyers, doctors, politicians--but without capitulating unique cultural differences, such as language. It is of strategic necessity, according to some Mexican-American school personnel in South Town, to quietly prepare oneself and gain the positions necessary to help one's own race. This is to effect a change in the system.

Summarily, the Mexican-Americans of South Town share with North Town Mexicanos the belief that Anglos have historically kept them socially and culturally subordinate. The concept of "internal colonialism" developed in relation to the history of North Town Mexicanos seems equally applicable here, that is, the historic relations are characterized by economic, social, and cultural domination. In fact, the idea of "internal colonialism" is probably held more intensely by South Town's La Raza Unida unit than by North Town's comparable unit. This idea will be clearer in a later section.

Although informants in South Town tended to use examples of Anglo suppression directly related to the local scene, such as seating patterns in church and movie houses, and Elva provided a glimpse of ethnic separatism in the early 20th century, the two locales were similar in the way in which ethnic power relations have been organized. Again, the school system was believed to be a key mechanism in keeping Mexicanos subordinate. Traditionally the schools have been segregated and the Mexicano students have not been significant participants. School leadership was in the hands of Anglo ranchers and businessmen who functioned latently to keep Mexican-Americans from using schools as a means to achieve socio-economic mobility. As in North Town the Mexicanos of South Town have begun to take control of the school system, not just in terms of a student majority, but school leadership roles, as well.

Summary and Interpretation

The history of inter-ethnic relations in the two locales closely fits the notion of internal-colonialism. The idea of an immigrant population displacing an indigenous group is more comfortably related to a broader geographical scale--the total area of the Southwest. To limit the focus to the two county area has a tendency to strain the concept. However, the other features attached to the idea of internal colonialism provide a justifiable description of historic ethnic relations in the two county area. The most fundamental organizing principle in the relationship has been the labor roles. The immigrant Anglos locked up the land and the market system. The Mexican population was indigenous to the "larger region" and provided the Anglos with a source of cheap labor. No matter what rationales were used by Anglos to explain the resulting social relationships it was a subordination of a whole ethnic population. The differentiation resulted in a series of ethnocentric projections by the dominant Anglo population which resulted in believed cultural inferiority on the part of the Mexican-Americans.

The cultural features used by Anglos to define the social boundaries between themselves and the subordinate Mexican-Americans were displayed through such institutional patterns as geographical settlement, economic transactions, political offices and processes, religious organizations, voluntary organizations, informal social relations, and the schools. The cultural features responsible for organizing ethnic power relations may be set forth in the following manner:

ANGLOS

Ethnocentric features:	Mexican-American Projections:
manifest destiny to settle	subordinate labor role as ontological
secularized Protestant work-ethic	lazy, no initiative
genetically intelligent	genetically dumb
cultural superiority	culturally inferior
managers, able to handle money	employees, workers, can't handle money
law-abiding, honest	law-breakers, dishonest
not jealous of those who get ahead	jealous of those who get ahead
not cruel to own ethnic members	cruel to own ethnic members
not bound to family	bound to family
kind, not prone to settle issues by physical force, not dangerous	prone to settle issues by physical force, dangerous

not clannish	clannish
trustworthy	untrustworthy
financially responsible	financially irresponsible
controls breeding and sexual behavior	heavy breeders, sexually promiscuous, passionate
taxpayers	non-taxpayers, economic burden on Anglos
clean	dirty

Over the years Mexican-Americans have appropriated the Anglos' culturally organizing features. This cultural denigration of the Mexican-American has effectively supported the social boundaries and kept the Mexican-American in a subordinate, and submissive, position. As was noted, there are cases of Mexican-Americans who have dissented and attempted to manifest this fact by challenging the social power relations. The fact that these cases are described as fragmented operating units is indicative of the minute degree in which dissenting cultural features were shared. Yet, the history of local ethnic relations is incredibly striking in the degree that local Mexican-Americans seem to have accepted definitions of themselves constructed and projected by Anglos.

One extremely visible cultural distinction typifying the two ethnic sectors is the manner in which the resulting patterns are "organizational" to the Anglos and "structural" to the Mexican-American. Since the Anglos control the local physical and social environment the processes of acquiring scarce resources, such as education, economic aid, and other such socially enhancing attributes, are viewed as strictly a matter of knowing who, how, and when to manipulate. These are organizational management features. On the other hand, the Mexican-American believes that such matters are out of his control and nothing can be done without relying upon "gifts" of resources from the superordinate Anglos. Thus, the Mexican-American conceptualizes his position as structural, i.e., beyond his control.

The historical pattern of housing is illustrative of this differentiation. It was pointed out earlier that Mexican-Americans have been gradually, but meagerly, buying homes in the Anglo section of town. One Anglo informant pointed to one such house and mentioned that "they" could always buy "over on our side of town." A discussion with Mexican-Americans, however, reveals a belief that historically Anglos have used a variety of means, both covert as well as overt, to keep Mexican-Americans on their side of the tracks. This is the difference between a perception that something is organizational or structural--the degree of control a group is believed to have over the commodity. It is often completely baffling to Anglos why Mexican-

Americans are so vociferous and hateful of late. It seems so clear to many Anglos that the problems Mexican-Americans believe exist as a result of Anglo discrimination are "really" the product of their own inabilities. In contrast, Mexican-Americans are greatly angered that Anglos are not able to see what they have done to Mexican-Americans over the decades. Again, what is organizational to one sector is structural to the other.

The description of schools and school leadership reveals that Anglos have controlled this sector historically. Further, the school environment has been organized according to the cultural features prevalent in the larger social system. School personnel have traditionally been local products and are still preferred over non-locals. Non-locals are controlled by school boards who do not allow a great deal of professional imagery to protect the operation of the schools. This aspect of school leadership will become clearer in relationship to the present conflict to be described in a later section.

Schooling itself, as a means to greater economic and social positions, has been historically more important to the Anglos than to the Mexican-Americans. This was corollated with the traditional labor relations and the concomitant cultural features attached to those relations. The fact that historic school-oriented competition among

Anglos tended to center on non-academic issues is a result of the lack of choices available to Anglos with relation to academic concerns. That is, the State level units have defined the curriculum, teacher's credentialing, and other such subjects, so that these matters are defined as "structural" to local Anglos in relation to the state level control. When people are not making choices there is no neurological activity setting up contrasting meanings. This was illustrated during the field work period when the analyst would attempt to plumb the meanings ascribed by Anglos to the importance of different types of schooling, for example, what courses need to be eliminated, added, etc. Most Anglos, even school leadership, had no thoughts on the matter. The one exception was the tendency to increase the trade curriculum. This was specifically important to some board members and school leaders.

Most significant has been the presence and persistence of ethnic boundaries in the schools. Even the introduction of a minority of non-local Anglos has not dramatically altered the social organization of the schools. The changes which have taken place in the 1960's has been a product of local Mexican-American efforts and federal level power articulations--described in the next chapter. The emerging Mexican-American efforts to alter the traditional socio-cultural system can be accounted for by noting the gradual increase in the number of Mexican-American entrepreneurs operating on the local scene. With the rise to entrepreneurial status has come a questioning of the Anglo definitions of being Mexican-American. That is, the labor relationship changes, from an employee of Anglos to an employer of one's own people, from dumb to smart, from a non-manager to a manager, and so forth. Thus, the stage becomes increasingly re-arranged and the period of intense confrontation begins--the power relations change and the Mexican-American attempt to articulate on the same level with Anglos.

The following two chapters will describe the recent period of ethnic conflict characterizing the two locales. The writer has chosen to treat each locale separately in order to maintain the integrity of the local ethnic power relations. Since the behaviors of both local sectors has been a set of responses to the opposing ethnic sector each locale is an integrated whole. The analysis will stipulate the continuities and discontinuities which differentiate the locales.

FOOTNOTES

1. The North Town school board minutes are only available from 1948, at which time the independent school district was organized out of the former county structure. However, the Centennial Corporation (1971) records some of the earlier school trustees which substantiates the writer's idea regarding the traditional control of the schools.

2. The analyst checked with Dr. Joe Juarez, of the University of California, Davis, California. Dr. Juarez has been conducting research in Laredo, Texas regarding the early history of the area. In his opinion the area of North and South Counties was uninhabited at the time of the Anglo settlement. He has done considerable work with the archives in Webb County. Mr. Richard Santos, of San Antonio, has done primary research in the early Bexar County archives and concurs with Dr. Juarez.

3. This notion is substantiated by further research in the area by Foley and Lozano.

4. In the school board minutes for November 14, 1951.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN THREAT TO DOMINANCE AND THE ANGLOS RESPONSE

PART I: THE CASE OF NORTH TOWN

The preceding demographic and historical material has clearly portrayed the relative power positions of the Anglos and Mexicanos in the two localities. Anglos have always controlled the land and social institutions in both counties. They have clearly exhibited a more favorable economic and educational profile, which has facilitated their continual control over the environment. It is their belief that this dominance has been due to hard work associated with a superior culture. In contrast, Mexican-Americans have always occupied subordinate economic and social positions. They have had little control over their physical and social environment and manifest demographic characteristics endemic to their relative subordinate position.

This power differentiation between the two ethnic units has resulted in a separatism which is maintained by every aspect of organizational life in the two localities. The governance of schools has played a special role in maintaining the economic and social boundaries differentiating the two ethnic units. School leaders have been chosen according to their willingness and ability to "broker" the local culture of ethnic differentiation.

Yet, the preceding descriptions of the two ethnic units reveal a gradual improvement in the Mexican-American's demographic position and a significant transformation of their belief system--what they believe about themselves and their relative subordinate socio-cultural position. Clearly, many Mexicanos in both localities believe their low socio-economic position to be a result of Anglo oppression and not the lack of hard work or an inferior culture. The reality and cultural potential aspects characterizing the ethnic units in the historical power relationships have been of such tenacious nature that any changes should elicit a sense of incredulity from an observer.

The present chapter, and the following one, attempt to first, account for the changes taking place in the localities between ethnic units, second, describe the Mexican-American mobilization process as witnessed by the analyst during the field work period, and third, record the Anglos' response to Mexicano mobilization. There is a certain amount of continuity in the Mexican-American's mobilization of both localities, but rather than treating this activity as a single phenomenon the writer has chosen to maintain the integrity of each locale. It is often difficult to understand the behavior of one ethnic unit without reference to that of the other ethnic unit in the same locality. That is, there is a significant difference in each locale's "threat-response" pattern to warrant a more unified approach. Each unit in a locale has a certain cultural differentiation attached to the present competitive activity, which is shaped not only by the local historical developments but by the existential demands inherent in the conflict itself. The historical culture which informs local ethnic relations in each locale is being reshaped by the development of new cultural features created by the conflict. Thus, an attempt to separate the activity and cultural features of the two locales should lend clarity to the phenomena. It is hoped that this attempt at clarity does not obfuscate the continuities existing between the two locales.

There are a number of regional, state, and federal level contributions which help account for the local mobilization efforts in both locales. Since these apply to both locales, and are conceptually distinct phenomena, they will be presented as a preface to the local level mobilization data.

Upper Level Contributions: A Preface to Local Mobilization

When a group of people have been so structurally dominated, as have been the Mexican-Americans, it is of great theoretical interest to account for any significant change. That is, where do the alternative choices come from? The Mexican-American actors must have alternative possibilities from which to choose if a unit emerges to challenge the Anglos' power and control. The history of the locales indicated that there were Mexican-Americans over the years who did not share the local cultural features regarding their ethnic subordinate power position. Some of these persons, like Elva in 1904, had occupied a superordinate and unoppressive socio-cultural position before migrating to North or South Towns. Such persons operated as fragmented units and evidently did not attempt to play a significant brokerage role. That is, they did not attempt to transmit their meaning-systems to others, but used their skill authority to maximize scarce resources controlled by Anglos for personal enhancement--economic, schooling.

There are a number of Mexican-Americans since World War II, who either left and returned, or were newcomers, that brokered a new set of cultural features. First, returning veterans have played a key brokerage role in initiating the present mobilization movement. In military service Mexican-American males participated in a totally different power relationship, where one's power position was defined according to achieved rank and not ethnicity. Their social relations with Anglos, military and lay, were not structured by the same power and cultural features as experienced in South Texas--and the concomitant boundaries created by the local culture of ethnic relations.

Second, local field laborers who have been forced to annually migrate north have also experienced a different set of social relationships with Anglos. As described earlier, many Mexican-American informants speak with a great deal of emotion about the many close friendships established with Anglos up north. The fact that migrants have experienced new social relations, coupled with their increased economic independence from the local South Texas Anglo agricultural economy, has made this fragmented-aggregate unit a formidable source of power in mobilizing Mexican-Americans against the Anglo units in the two locales.

The significance of the different social and cultural environments experienced by these two types of Mexican-American aggregate identity units rests upon the resultant erosion of the traditional culture. That is, the structural nature of the cultural power features were gradually perceived as organizational. The ontological nature of the culture was destroyed in the minds of many veterans and migrants. Such persons returned to North and South Towns less willing to continue playing subordinate roles or maintain some of the traditional ethnic boundaries. The meanings attached to the form, "Mexican-American," changed as a result of these extra-local experiences. Whereas the subordinate power position had been defined through such concepts as "cultural inferiority, no initiative," and other meanings, the new definitions were related to Anglo dominance. There has been an increase in the number of Mexican-Americans who blame Anglos for their subordinate sociocultural power position. This is in glaring contrast to the traditional culture of the Anglos appropriated by local Mexican-Americans.

The 1960's can be characterized as a period of more intense Mexican-American activity in both localities. Besides the returning veterans and migrants the 1960's recorded an increase of power derived from state and federal levels. However, the role played by the Black Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's should not be underestimated. Although the analyst did not find informants recognizing the import of the Rights Movement, it has surely contributed to the creation of new cultural choices for Mexican-Americans in South Texas.

There were several federal acts which provided derivative power on behalf of local Mexican-Americans. It is of great interest to note that the school system provided the major locus for these federal power articulations. There has been no attempt by the analyst to list and detail every possible federal and state program available during the 1960's. For the present purpose it is only necessary to point to those programs which the local school system utilized and which contributed to the mobilization of the Mexican-Americans.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 had the most profound effect upon the local school system. It might be noted that this legislation was a result of the Civil Rights Movement and is an example of the Movement's impact on local Mexican-American mobilization--although a possible inadvertent one. The Education Act of 1965 provided funds for furthering the education of poverty level children. Funds were allocated for upgrading the present educational program through additional, and more modern teaching aids--projectors, desks, etc. Teacher aides were funded to work with the classroom teachers as an attempt to bridge linguistic and other cultural chasms. New curricular programs were designed to meet special needs of locals defined as "educationally deprived." In the local area the programs for the children of migrant families was one such type.

The Texas Education Agency has functioned as the conduit for federal funds and has also policed the local school's adherence to the guidelines attached to such funds. Although the state and federal level units are often perceived by locals as congruent, it is necessary for present purposes to make a brief excursion and clarify the nature and function of the State Education Agency.

The TEA (Texas Education Agency) is the organizational unit created by the Texas Legislature to supervise local school systems. Thus, the local school system, or district, is within the power domain of the state. This means that the state has a very comprehensive set of specifications defining schooling. For example, the curriculum requirements are the same for each school district in Texas. Teacher and administrative licensing is uniform. State funds are appropriated by the state legislature to enable local school districts to meet and maintain the state's minimum standards--teacher's salaries, administrator's salaries, equipment, and so forth. Needless to say, the state's control of local schools is fairly comprehensive. Unless a school district is extremely wealthy, as are some districts localized in the West Texas oil fields, most devote their energies to meeting just the minimums. Creativity in terms of a broader curriculum and more indigenous innovations are not alternatives for most school districts.

The funds made available by the federal units and channeled through the TEA made a significant contribution in shifting the local school leaders' emphasis from Anglo to Mexican-American student needs. Local Anglo school leaders were often intimidated by state officials into participating in new federal programs. Their decision to participate in others was guided by this belief that the benefits would accrue to all students, Anglos as well as Mexican-Americans. Since the funds were specifically designated for the education of poverty-level children the local Anglo leaders were forced to shift their attention to this student population. That is, because of economic subordination of the Mexican-Americans, their children constituted the poverty population as defined by the federal programs. Clearly the operating units at the federal and state levels held a different set of meanings attached to the Mexican-Americans than did locals. Without having interviewed persons operating at the upper-levels, but concluding from the effects at the local-level, this writer finds it quite defensible to infer that upper-level units defined the Mexicanos' inferior demographic position as a lack of access to schooling and a need for some curricular modification. For example, some of the guidelines of the Education Act of 1965 specifv that equipment purchased with such funds can only be used by children from the target population. It seems safe to conclude that the upper-level units believed that these children were formerly denied access to such equipment--books, desks, etc. Further, the funds allotted directly to the creating of schooling for migrant family children means that the traditional structure was defined as unamenable to these children's needs.

A concomitant feature of the federal-level articulations described above is the policing role played by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This Department (HEW), through TEA, has forced compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which demands an ethnic balance in schools and classrooms where federal funds are used. Access to increased funding by local school districts has been and still is, tied to social reorganization in the schools--the eventual destruction of an important ethnic boundary. This provides local Anglo school leaders with a source of great consternation. The leaders speak of being "trapped" into program participation by upper-level units--especially the federal units. The programs are offered with 90% federal allocation and few guidelines the first year. The second year the allocation of funds is reduced to 85% and the controls governing their use are increased. Each year the federal units reduce their funding, but increase their control. This is perceived by local Anglo school leaders as putting a heavier financial burden on the local districts while reducing their control. Local Anglo leaders share an intense hostility for upper-level units in general. However, the hostility is less intense with regard to the state-level units. Such a reaction leads the analyst to infer that the state has not been as active in brokering socio-cultural change as has the federal units.

This makes sense if one remembers that local school districts have historically been subject to state control and, therefore, reflect the meanings attached to education existing at that level. To what degree the local districts in South Texas have maintained their local ethnic power relations through the use of the schools by providing allocated power to state units (TEA, legislators, etc.) is a question for further research. Yet, it seems to be the case that the ethnic power relations in the locales of North and South Towns have been part of a statewide power domain and units at each level have found it beneficial to maintain the power relationships (cf. Floca 1971).

The federal poverty program of the 1960's provided a further source of derivative power for local Mexican-Americans. North and South Counties are part of a regionally funded organization which calls itself the Economic Opportunities Development Corporation (EODC). The importance of this organization rests in several areas. First, and most obviously, there is the increased economic resource made available to local citizens for solving a multiplicity of problems--adult education, pre-school programs, health care, employment counseling, family counseling, legal brokerage, and a number of other types of services. The EODC staff in each locality understands its task as an attempt to meet any and every need that local Mexican-

Americans have. Second, the poverty program has provided local Mexican-Americans with administrative jobs and thereby the needed experience in management necessary to compete with Anglos (skill authority). Thirdly, since the local poverty organizations must be composed of a "poverty" majority from the target area, the Mexican-Americans in this class are having an opportunity to make some choices never before available--a rearrangement of control. South Town has set up a Barrios Unidos unit, which meets the criteria of an informal operating unit, and North Town has a parallel unit. Such an apparatus has played a significant role in the late political developments in both locales. The EODC program, and the concomitant organizations spawned by its activity, are a constant threat to local Anglos in both locales. In North Town the EODC hires Ciudadanos members and its offices function as a gathering place for local and regional Chicanos who seek the political establishment of the Mexicano. The EODC staff shares the perceptions of the Ciudadanos. North Town's poverty organization has not been as great a threat as the more formidable Ciudadanos Unidos Mexicanos (Mexican Citizens United). Nevertheless, the poverty program has contributed toward new choices and the development of a set of new cultural features by local Mexican-Americans.

Although it is not a part of the "poverty program," the Federal Housing Administration has been instrumental in building several hundred new housing units for low-income families in both localities over the last decade. This has added to the other federal and state level programs which have provided derivative power for mobilizing local Mexican-Americans toward reordering traditional culture-power relationships.

One federal program that must be treated separately because of its special significance in South Town is the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). VISTA entered South Town in 1968. The young adults comprising this first team attempted to service the Mexican-American population in fairly traditional ways, that is, by teaching, working with families in the myriad of such problems, counseling the youth in the barrios, and so forth. However, with each succeeding set of new VISTAS there was a more intense effort to organize the barrios toward ameliorating social and political problems. Since the VISTAS were non-local Anglos, they did not share the local culture traditionally used to organize ethnic relations and were constantly questioning the reality of such meanings. For example, one female VISTA was upset by the tests given Mexican-American children in the local segregated elementary school in order to test intelligence. These tests were used to judge a student's readiness for further grade levels. It was her contention that the test used contained pictures and vocabulary which biased the results. The pictures were too small to be accurately defined and the words signaled things that were not part of the Mexican-American child's experience. One such term was "galoshes." Such equipment, she contended, does not form part of the meaningful world of local Mexican-American children. It probably does not form the meaningful world of the Anglo children, either. This particular VISTA worker contacted the San Antonio office of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and the United States Civil Rights Commission when she was unable to effect a change through the local school system. It was her belief that such tactics were used locally to maintain ethnic boundaries--or as the local Chicanos would say "pushing the children out of the Anglo schools." A hearing was held in the local Mexican-American elementary school and a great deal of community turmoil ensued. However, the tests were discontinued.

The preceding case serves as a paradigm for the VISTA's activity in South Town. VISTA is defined by locals of both ethnic groups as key change-agents in initiating the Mexican-American threat to Anglo control. When the analyst asked Anglos to account for the change in local ethnic relations they inevitably pointed to the VISTA activity--"everything was fine here until those VISTA kids came in here and stirred up the local Latins." In contrast, Mexican-Americans and Chicanos of South Town say that the VISTAs "helped make us aware of how things really were."

It is important to conceptually distinguish the VISTA's activity from the other federal and state contributions discussed earlier. First, and foremost, the VISTAs played a "cultural-brokerage" role in mobilizing the local movement. That is, they imported a new set of definitions concerning the local ethnic power relations, with all of the social dimensions this implies. The female VISTA worker whose activity was described attached a different set of meanings to school tests and the related access to local education. Secondly, the VISTAs used their skill authority to broker derivative power, i.e., MALDEF and the Civil Rights Commission. This was not the dominant brokerage role, however. It is not the present intent to attempt a quantification between these two brokerage roles, but it seems fairly obvious that VISTAs did not exert any control over locally valued commodities that could be used to broker power on behalf of local Mexican-Americans. They did play a most significant role in using their skill authority and their locally conflicting culture in contributing to the Chicano mobilization in progress.

Since World War II there have been a number of organizations created on a statewide level in order to unite Mexican-Americans. Most of these, such as the G.I. Forum, and LULACs, were not concerned with acquiring power in order to take over the governance mechanisms for greater control of the local environment. Since the Mexican-American had traditionally been shut-out of Anglo social organizations most of the Mexican-American units paralleled those of the Anglos. In the context of the late 1940's and the 1950's such organizations were significantly bold. From the perspective of the 1960's, however, these early units were "conservative" in the sense of maintaining the traditional ethnic boundaries. However, not only does the existence of such units in the state environment indicate the incipient cultural change taking place at this period of time on a state level, but adds another contributive factor to the socio-cultural climate of North and South Towns.

In Chapter One, the analyst described the contemporary Mexican-American movement found in the two localities as part of a statewide phenomenon designated by its founders as La Raza Unida. This particular formal operating unit has played, and is still playing, direct cultural and power brokerage roles in North and South Towns.

The development of La Raza Unida Party (RUP) has its genesis in the socio-political climate of San Antonio during the 1960's. Briefly, San Antonio's Mexican-American population has gradually exerted more control over their lives within the context of the traditional social climate of subordination. Through a myriad of cultural and power brokers, such as the Catholic Church, organized labor, and a number of Mexican-American politicians, there has emerged a new culture and concomitant operating unit. During the 1960's the City witnessed numerous student walk-outs, labor strikes, and increasing attempts by the Mexican-Americans to occupy the political positions, such as the city council, commissioners court, and so forth (cr. Post 1970). The cultural change spawned a variety of new organizational units, such as the Brown Berets, Mexican-American Student Organization (MASO), the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), etc. Such units had several cultural features in common, that is, that the Anglo system was oppressive, the Mexican-Americans should unite and consolidate their power to invert the system, and that the indigenous Mexican-American culture was as good, if not superior to that of the Anglos. These are a few of the overriding cultural features in forming the organizations developing in the late 1960's. It is not my intent to offer an exhaustive treatment of the movement or its antecedents, but to signal another significant contribution to the present movement in the two locales.

Out of the San Antonio MAYO came young men with the idea that the Winter Garden area of South Texas should be the locus for "Atzlan." Atzlan is a Nahuatl (Aztec) term for the northwest region of Mexico and synonymous with the current United States Southwest. According to Gutierrez (1973) the Aztecs designate this area as the site of their organization. Crystal City was chosen as the initial site for the movement and Jose Angel Gutierrez became the catalyst. The fact that Crystal City was his home town helped the organizational task. Gutierrez and his wife moved back to Crystal City in 1969 and were joined by an Anglo couple who had been serving as VISTAS in South Town. With this beginning Gutierrez and his MAYO associates mobilized the town and eventually controlled the school board, school administration, and the City's political apparatus. The RUP has been registered with the Texas Secretary of State and has been actively politicizing others of Mexican descent across South Texas. The RUP fielded a statewide slate in the last election and evidently plans to continue to build its voting public. Although RUP did not gain any statewide offices the vote was sufficient to signal an end to the Anglo politicians' control over this particular voting unit. According to Gutierrez (1973) the goals of the Raza Unida movement are:

> to force the educational system to extend to the
> Mexican student. Over 70% of the Mexican students
> in the schools of Crystal City are pushed out or
> termed "drop out" if you believe the Mexican stu-
> dents have some inherent deficiency. These students
> do not finish the twelfth grade.

> The second goal was to bring democracy to these counties . . . in other words--rule by the majority. In most cases, the ratio of Chicanos to gringos is about 70% to 30%.
>
> Next to our educational and political goal our third goal was a direct confrontation with the gringo. We sought to expose, confront, and eliminate the gringo. We felt that it was necessary to polarize the community over issues into Chicano versus gringos.
>
> Basically, the difference between the Chicano and gringo, aside from the bad-good guy criteria is one of attitude. The attitude gringos have of racial superiority; of paternalism; of divine right; of zenophobia; of bigotry; and of animalism is well-known to La Raza.
>
> The fourth goal of our Aztlan model would be a program of rural economic development since colonialism still exists in South Texas.

In North Town the RUP made contact with local Mexican-Americans during the state election campaign of 1972. This is not to intimate that there had been no previous contact between Mexican-Americans, or Chicanos, from the two locales. The state election of 1972 seems to be the first politically concerted effort by RUP to affect the culture and power systems of North Town. At the beginning of the field work experience the analyst found a small, but significant number of North Town Mexican-Americans who shared RUP's definition of ethnic relations. First, there was a small unit which called themselves Raza Unida. The group was reported by local Mexican-Americans to number less than a dozen members and usually the names of the same two or three men were listed. The unit was reported to have a bank account and a baseball team carrying the name Raza Unida. The Raza unit did not seem to work well with the more formidable Ciudadanos Unidos Mexicanos, the second operating unit which tended to share some of the Crystal City RUP cultural features specified by Gutierrez. The analyst found members of Ciudadanos consistently criticizing the local RUP unit for its Anglo hatred. There is one instance where a member of Ciudadanos and a member of RUP had a fist-fight at a local ballgame during the Spring of 1973.

As specified above the dominant Mexican-American unit in North Town was the Ciudadanos unit. There were thirteen members in the organization and from observation and informants' descriptions it operated as an informal operating unit. Conversations held with Ciudadanos members during the early period of field work revealed a great deal of apprehension concerning the statewide Raza Unida movement. Their hostility toward the local Raza unit substantiated this notion. Local Ciudadanos believed that they could handle their own social and political relationships with the Anglos. In fact, most were convinced that an accommodation would be worked out with some of the local Anglos perceived to be "good people." Some of the Ciudadanos were men who had served, and were serving, as school leaders, and felt that their relationships with Anglos were quite productive. Others were businessmen who had dealings with Anglos. On the other hand, there were those in Ciudadanos who believed that any cooperative and equal relationships with Anglos was doomed to failure. This indicates some degree of internal Ciudadanos cultural conflict. Hence, although the Ciudadanos unit had a variety of cultural systems organizing the local socio-cultural environment, the unit generally communicated what might be described as a less polarizing position than did the statewide RUP. However, as the competition "heated up" during the Spring election Ciudadanos members became increasingly anti-Anglo and began to actively seek the political advice of Crystal City RUP members. The manner in which local Ciudadanos leaders changed their beliefs about the Anglos during the period of November 1972 through July 1973 was striking. The late Spring and early Summer found many Ciudadanos members using the hate-the-gringo rhetoric characteristic of the Raza Unida movement. The locale was about as polarized as it could possibly be. There were a handful of Mexican-Americans openly identified with the Anglo unit, but the analyst was told in the Fall of 1973 that one of the families so identified was contemplating shifting allegiance to the Ciudadanos--or at least getting out of the Anglo BGL unit. The chronicle of events to be set forth later will elaborate this change, however, the preceding should be sufficient to provide some idea of the RUP contribution in North Town.

According to the ethnographic evidence RUP members from Crystal City were constant visitors in South Town since 1969. South County was evidently a conscious choice for political inversion (Ibid.). Crystal City RUP members conducted rallies and staged dramas depicting local Anglos as oppressors during the mobilization process. The local unit responsible for mobilizing South Town Mexican-Americans were young adults who identified themselves from the beginning as Raza Unida and Chicanos. In both locales RUP of Crystal City brokered power and culture. The power brokered was of the skill-authority type and the culture was a whole new set of meanings attached to ethnic identity and the power relations organizing their relations.

The preceding discussion has attempted to describe certain non-local articulations that contributed to the mobilization of Mexican-Americans and Chicanos in the two localities. The federal units brokered cultural features attached to such power features as school and town funding for educational and social resources--like new housing and the poverty program. Concomitantly the federal level units brokered power in the form of judicial acts which forced integration of the schools and the negation of tests which were defined as retarding the Mexican-American child's access to further education. The VISTA workers were described as providing important skill authority and brokering new meanings which contributed to the mobilization of South Town. On the state level a number of Mexican-American units were described as emerging during the 1940's and 1950's with a new cultural desire to organize Mexican-Americans for social purposes. Finally, the analyst recounted the development of the Raza Unida Party and its contributions in mobilizing the Mexican-Americans of North and South Towns. The following discussion will report the mobilization process of North Town, followed by the Anglo's response.

North Town's Mobilization

As recorded earlier, North Town Mexican-Americans were not "represented" on the school board until 1963. The gentleman "picked" by Anglos to "represent" the Mexican-American population was a local entrepreneur whose business acumen exhibited what Anglos esteem as important. Two Mexican-Americans attempted to acquire seats on the board in the Spring of 1961 but were defeated by several hundred votes. This indicates that Mexican-Americans could count on a significant number of votes from their own ethnic sector in the early 1960's. This particular election turned out 1,080 voters as compared with 60 the previous year, which indicates an initial Anglo mobilization. The following year, 1962, another Mexican-American ran for the school board but his 518 votes were not enough. The next several years, 1963-1967, there was little overt political activity by Mexican-Americans. The Mexican-American school board members during this period were initially Anglo appointments and continued their role as Anglo sponsored Mexicans.

The school board election of 1968 reveals a more concerted effort by local fragmented Mexican-American units to gain greater control of the school system. This was also the year the policy of running by "places" went into effect. This rule was adopted by the Anglo-controlled board of the previous year in order to keep the Mexican-American plurality from capturing total control. Even so, two more Mexican-Americans won seats in the Spring of 1968 and joined the other Mexicano on the board. After the slight competition of 1968 the next three years were relatively calm. The election of 1970 reveals some Anglo competition, but none from the Mexican-Americans.

The year 1972 tends to be crucial to conceptualizing the ethnic mobilization of North Town. The Spring school board election witnessed two more Mexican-Americans capturing seats. In Place One a local Mexican-American entrepreneur won in a light Anglo turn-out. In Place Two the Mexican-American female beat her Anglo counterpart. The ethnographic reports support the school board voting records in signifying that Anglos during this period were not significantly cognizant of any threat. The relations with the former Mexican-American board members had been quite amiable and non-threatening. The state Raza Unida movement had not been overtly visible to local Anglos. In fact, Anglos believed local Mexican-Americans were hostile to the state Raza Unida movement.

At the time of the school board elections in 1972, the local Mexican-Americans gained control of the City Council. This was the period, described earlier, when the Anglo City Manager and some of his staff quit because they were unable to work for the Mexican-American Council. The new Council's actions contributed to a belief by many local Anglos that there was a significant threat to their control and a small number of people began to develop this idea and broker it among other Anglos. (These Anglo aggregate units led to the creation of a more efficient informal consensus unit in 1973--to be discussed in the following section.)

Some of the actions taken by the new Council which raised the ire of local Anglos, besides the resignation of the Anglo Manager and some of his staff, related to acts which enhanced the Mexican-Americans and were believed to be inappropriate. First, the Council raised the wages of City employees from $60-$70 to at least $150 per week. Many of these employees were reported to have worked for the City for as many as 19 and 25 years. In this process, according to one Mexican-American Council member, the Anglo

City Manager was asked why these wages had not been raised in the past. He is supposed to have replied, "they can't read or write and are not worth more than $60 or $70 per week." A second act was the hiring of a Mexican-American City Manager to replace the Anglo resignee. This was an act which signaled to Anglos an impending Mexican "take-over" and was encased in the traditional cultural features concerning the Mexicans' inability to manage legally and efficiently.

The County elections in the late Fall of 1972 provided the final contribution leading to the creation of a Mexican-American informal consensus unit in order to compete with Anglos at the higher level of articulation. A local Mexican-American male, whose wife was a member of the new City Council, was running for the County Sheriff's position on the rationale that the present Anglo Sheriff treated Mexicans and Anglos differently. He cited the case of Mexicans being in prison for drug offenses while Anglos roam free. He attempted to back this up with reference to a local Anglo high school "drug ring" uncovered by the FBI a few years back. It was his contention that the Anglo sheriff knew of this ring all the time, but because they were Anglos he would not arrest the boys. Further, a Mexican-American male supposedly hanged himself in jail due to the sheriff's negligence.

The Mexican-American candidate for sheriff was defeated. Local Mexican-Americans point to a number of Anglo election tactics to support their rationale that Anglos have no intention of "sharing control," even though the Mexicanos are in the majority. First, an informant related that the elderly Mexican-Americans received phone calls threatening their loss of social security benefits if they attempted to vote. Some Mexican-Americans who worked for Anglos report being subtly told they might lose their jobs. Again, the sheriff's deputies were reported to have been out taking pictures of the voters, which was interpreted as a means used by Anglo employers to check up on their employees. There was the further case of a threatened arrest of a Mexican-American candidate's wife for transporting voters to the polls. The arresting sheriff's deputies used the rationale that since her husband was a candidate this type of behavior was illegal. As the accounts relate, the arrest was not made because "all of the other Mexican-Americans standing in line to vote demanded to be arrested as well."

Some further acts believed perpetrated by Anglos relate to the voting procedures and indicate for Mexican-Americans the ruthless and oppressive nature of Anglos. First, Anglo pollsters were seen registering votes for the Anglo candidates when the Mexican-American voter had specified his or her preference for the Mexican-American.

Secondly, Mexican-Americans were not allowed to vote if they didn't have their registration cards, even though their names were on the poll lists. Yet, Anglos were allowed to vote if they had a card and their names weren't on the poll lists. This was believed by Mexican-Americans to represent the way in which Anglos use the rules to their own ends. Thirdly, the election recorded 600 absentee votes. This didn't make sense to the Mexican-Americans, that is, they were unable to account for such a large number. There was only a handful away attending college, for example. The conclusion was that some Anglos had voted twice. Fourthly, one box in the southern area of the county occupied four hours to count 16 votes for the Mexican-American candidate and it was four o'clock in the morning before many of the outlying boxes reported. Since many of the Mexican-Americans could not remember the vote talley in these outlying regions to take this long before, the conclusion was that the Anglos had "messed with the votes."

The preceding acts and the attached meanings, together with the Mexican-American defeat at the County level, led local Mexican-Americans to the decision that a more efficient organization was needed, that is, one that could muster more power. Thus, the Ciudadanos Unidos Mexicano (hereafter called Ciudadanos) was created.

Little has been said to this point regarding the purposes of the local Mexican-American mobilization other than their changing beliefs about their right as an oppressed plurality to govern--a high level of abstraction. In more specific terms, this process was translated into concrete acts in the environment related to the redistribution of local scarce resources. Local Mexicanos compare their section of North Town with the Anglo section and believe that Anglos will never provide the same resources for their development. Thus, Mexican-American control is related to such specifics as paved streets, street lights, more efficient sewerage system, adequate drainage, recreational parks, and an educational system more attuned to the Mexicanos' needs. This contributes to the question of differences in governance alluded to in Chapter One.

Ciudadanos Unidos Mexicanos was organized in December 1973. The original thirteen members were local Mexican-American entrepreneurs, educators, and one of the local Catholic priests. The unit's broadly stated purpose related to the education, welfare, and politics of the Mexican-American population as conceptualized by the local priest; Ciudadanos was pro-Mexicano, not anti-Anglo. It was originally presented to Anglos as being analogous to the Chamber of Commerce. The analyst first heard of the unit's creation from an Anglo school leader who responded to a question regarding local ethnic relations by stating that he "used to think they were good, but now the Mexicans have set up their own Chamber of Commerce and it doesn't look so good." Following up this cue the analyst sought the opinions of other Anglos and found that generally they shared the idea that the purpose of Ciudadanos was "non-political" and for the education and welfare of local Mexican-Americans by their own leaders. In discussing the organization with Ciudadanos members it became apparent that they were brokering this idea to Anglos in order to minimize the Anglos' anxiety, avoid the concomitant retaliatory measures, and to keep from polarizing the town.

The early stage of Ciudadanos manifests a number of cultural variations regarding such forms as "Anglos," the Raza Unida movement, and local mobilization. There were those members that bitterly hated all Anglos and derisively labeled them gringos. There were others, especially school leaders, who were prone to broker the belief potential estimate that some Anglos could be counted on to work for the benefit of the Mexican-American and argued against any rhetoric or act which would alienate such persons. One informant told the analyst that Ciudadanos views its task on a much broader scale than Raza Unida, because it was not anti-Anglo. That is, one of the covert tasks of the Ciudadanos was to educate the Anglo to a new understanding of the Mexican-American. The traditional Anglo ideas regarding Mexican-Americans as socially and culturally inferior were believed to be "inborn" and could be eliminated by education. By education, they meant that Ciudadanos members would show the Anglos through their acts that the Mexican-American could operate at the same level educationally, socially, and politically. The acts to be used to do this were not specified in this interview and were generally found by the analyst to be nebulous.

The chronicle of the gradual change in the relationship between school leaders representing the two ethnic sectors provides a paradigm of the mobilization process taking place throughout North Town during the Winter and Spring of 1973. As stated earlier, Ciudadanos school leaders in the early period of field work (November 1972 through early March of 1973) were very accommodating in their relations with the Anglo school leaders, and vice versa. Board meetings were congenial and members of both ethnic sectors concentrated on solving educational problems. There were several cases where Ciudadanos and Anglo board members met on a social level. Also, both sectors joined in making some trips across the state analyzing existing bilingual programs in an attempt to formulate a similar program for North Town schools. There was general agreement that the school system needed more Mexican-American teachers and the administration was ordered to seek such. When issues related to student dress, hair styles, and discipline came up at the board meetings both sectors exhibited unanimity. There was the case of a government textbook which was rejected after the teacher had expressly specified the text as his preference. In this case one of the Anglo board members had conducted the initial analysis and had rejected the text because it did not present the United States government in the manner deemed appropriate. The Ciudadanos members supported such an act. There was no perceptible hostility between the two sectors that was discernible to the analyst. The lone exception was from one Anglo member of the Board. His combativeness was applied generally and usually pitted the other two Anglo board members and the Ciudadanos against his position. This man was generally cautious in financial and social affairs. Other Anglos characterized him as "very conservative."

In their relationship with the Anglo superintendent the Ciudadanos members expressed great trust and confidence. They usually confided in the superintendent and reported local Mexican-American political acts and perceptions and in return felt that he was brokering their interest by improving local educational opportunities for Mexican-Americans.

The key act which triggered ethnic cleavage on the school board was the manner in which one Anglo board member was believed to have "sold out" the Ciudadanos board members. To account for this act it is necessary to make a brief excursion into the activity produced by Anglo mobilization. The writer earlier recorded the presence of several fragmented units of Anglos who believed the local Mexican-Americans were part of a statewide plot to take over socially and politically. These units had been extremely busy during the Fall and Winter of 1972 in brokering their particular definitions of the situation. They were finally able to mobilize sufficient support to put together what was described to the analyst as an informal consensus unit and labeled it the Better Government League. Several of the Anglo school board members maintained an initial degree of independence from this informal unit. One never did participate and another kept a low visibility in the beginning stages of the unit's growth. The third Anglo member was involved in the new League from the beginning. The members of the Better Government League exerted a great deal of pressure upon the Anglo school leaders. One understanding that an Anglo board member had with the Ciudadanos on the Board was that the latter would represent the Anglo's candidacy for a new term with the Mexican-American units. This included keeping the Ciudadanos from running an opposition candidate in this position. The Ciudadanos board members had a high regard for the skill authority of this particular Anglo leader and felt that no opposition was required. Thus, two of the Ciudadanos board members made a strong appeal on the Anglo's behalf at the Ciudadanos meeting when the potential slate was discussed. Needless to say, the issue created a lively debate in Ciudadanos and continued for a number of weeks. Meanwhile the filing deadline was approaching and the Anglo was getting nervous, her anxiety undoubtedly created by fellow Anglos. The day of final filing for the school board was the same day this particular Anglo board member was supposed to drive to Crystal City to view that system's bilingual program. The Anglo was worried that the Ciudadanos were "using" this trip as a tactic to have her out of town in order to file an opposing candidate. Therefore, she had arranged for her husband's secretary, a Mexican-American, to file as her opposition. This would split the Mexican-American vote in case Ciudadanos decided to run in opposition. The secretary would drop out of the contest after the filing deadline in there was no significant Mexican-American opposition. This act was interpreted by the Ciudadanos board members as treason. It was their belief that they had supported her "out front" and had received a great deal of criticism from their peers for doing so. The other members of Ciudadanos were now able to say, "see, she is like all the other Anglos, you can't trust any of them." This act was trotted out constantly during the late Spring and Summer by Ciudadanos school leaders who believed it to be the turning point in their relations with the Anglo school leaders. After this act there was a rapid movement toward separatism and an increase in the number of Mexican-Americans who shared anti-Anglo sentiments. The writer was told by Ciudadanos members after the April election that if he was attempting to enlist Mexican-American informants at that juncture they would not participate.

The election campaign conducted by Ciudadanos was directed toward mobilizing their own ethnic peers. No attempt was made to exert any influence over Anglos. Activity centered around the act of educating Mexicanos how to read the ballot and how to use it. Radio spots communicated in Spanish the ideas that Mexicanos were in the majority, that it was in the American tradition for the majority to govern, that traditionally Mexicanos had been governed by the minority Anglos, and that only Mexican-American leadership will help the Mexican-American community co acquire adequate streets, drainage, sewers, housing, education, jobs, and better wages.

The Spring, 1973, elections became a source of bitter dispute between ethnic sectors, intensifying the fear and anger accompanying what had become a very overt ethnic polarization. The two Anglo school board incumbents beat their Ciudadanos opponents by a 3 to 2 margin. The Mexican-American secretary used by one incumbent to split the vote, polled 139 votes from the Ciudadanos adversary. This fact did not account for the Anglo's victory at that position but did reduce the voting public needed by Ciudadanos in that position.

In the city election the Ciudadanos candidate for mayor beat the Anglo by a vote of 1,042 to 981. Anglos barely beat Ciudadanos candidates for the three vacant alderman seats. However, the Anglo unit brought suit against the newly elected Ciudadanos mayor, contesting the election results. The court proceedings lasted well into the summer and eventually sufficient ballots were thrown out to change the mayor's race and give the election to the Anglo, plus adding to the vote margin received by the other Anglo aldermen. This process will be described in greater detail in the context of Anglo response. The election defeat was a bitter experience for the Ciudadanos and served to further their mobilization of the Mexican-American population. The Anglos were believed by Ciudadanos members to have acted in their traditional ruthless manner and this notion was transmitted among the Mexican-American population.

The first post-election school board meeting was devoted to reorganization. The former Anglo chairman and a Ciudadanos member were nominated for the position of chairman for the new year. There were four Ciudadanos board members and three Anglos--the same members of the previous year. A secret ballot was used and the Anglo won, to the amazement of all present. The analyst was observing the proceedings and was shocked by the results and the calmness which accompanied the results. As the board meeting proceeded the writer noticed several notes pass between several of the Ciudadanos and smiles between the Anglos. After the meeting the analyst met with two of the Ciudadanos leaders and discovered they were extremely upset. The four Ciudadanos had arranged to elect one of their own, but such a plan fell apart when one of the Ciudadanos voted for the Anglo. This act was interpreted by the Ciudadanos leaders as another example of how the Mexicano works against himself and how he is still intimidated by the Anglo. The writer was clearly told that this should help, as a researcher, to understand the depth of the problem--Mexican-Americans don't know how to vote.

The particular board meeting detailed above serves as a model for subsequent board meetings. Whereas the earlier meetings had been characterized by cordiality between the two ethnic sectors, the change initiated by the late election campaign and the election results created a clear polarization of the Board. During the remainder of field work observation each School Board meeting was analogous to a poker game, where each participant unit (Anglo versus Ciudadanos) reveals no emotion and every issue calls forth a series of maneuvers designed to exert control over the other. It was necessary to keep in touch with the issues between meetings to understand the transactions during the meeting itself.

The next act representing Ciudadanos attempts to control the school environment was an effort to "impeach" the Anglo chairman, whose election was described above. The Ciudadanos felt they had their four votes under control and decided they would unseat the chairman. However, at this meeting the chairman intelligently played her skill authority and bluffed the Ciudadanos into backing down. A vote was called for and the four Ciudadanos voted to "impeach" the Anglo, but the Anglo claimed that a two-thirds majority, as opposed to a simple majority, was required according to _Robert's Rules_. The Anglo called home and had her copy of _Robert's Rules of Order_ sent over and read the section which specified the two-thirds majority. The Ciudadanos were out-maneuvered again. Later the Ciudadanos learned that _Robert's Rules_ was not binding upon the board since the board had not formally adopted it. However, by this time the board had met again and with an Anglo quorum adopted _Robert's Rules_ as binding upon the board.

During this period the Ciudadanos school leaders were becoming increasingly suspicious that the Anglo administration was "playing" both sides of the ethnic conflict, that is, they felt the administrators were pretending to be sympathetic to the Mexicano but were really working for the Anglos. Hence, after the election the Ciudadanos were defining the superintendent, several other administrators, and a number of Anglo teachers, as racist. There was an attempt to hire a Chicano assistant superintendent from Crystal City which failed. The post-election board relations were a local focal point for the mobilization and became heavily attended by local citizens from both ethnic sectors. This audience added pressure to the already existing conflict between board members and had the effect of keeping several of the Ciudadanos at home, or "busy," the night of the meetings. Thus, Anglos were often in the majority or able to match votes with the Ciudadanos present during such meetings. The Crystal City administrator was rejected on such a night.

In response to the Anglo tactic of having a crowd at each board meeting, the Ciudadanos board members began boycotting meetings. Since the three Anglos could not constitute a quorum school business was at a standstill.

The change in ethnic relations stimulated by the election of 1973 led the Ciudadanos board members to redefine past board issues. An example of this was the textbook rejection case, discussed earlier. Although the Ciudadanos had supported the Anglos in this matter previously, the new belief was that Anglos were really choosing texts as a mechanism for the continual subordination of Mexican-American students. The Ciudadanos members stated that they would be suspicious the next time Anglos wanted to reject a text, for this would probably signify that the text has something that would enhance Mexican students' understanding of the Anglo system.

Ciudadanos members had initially discussed the value of mobilizing the students and rejected the idea, primarily at the insistence of the local Priest. Those Ciudadanos members who were school leaders also shared the Anglo notions, at that time, that politics should be kept out of the schools. However, this did not prevent the locality's ethnic differences and mobilization efforts from manifesting themselves in student behavior. In an earlier chapter the writer described the history of Anglo student domination of offices and awards, etc. School administrators and teachers informed me that during the mobilization efforts in the Spring of 1973 student discipline problems were above normal. Several examples are cited which support this notion. First, a band concert was presented by a South Texas university. The band had a large number of

Mexican-American members, some of whom played solo numbers. The solo performances were exceptionally well done and a large number of the students responded by giving the soloists a standing ovation. However, some of the Mexican-American students yelled "Viva La Raza," and gave the Brown power sign--a raised clenched fist. This disturbed the Anglo school leaders and local Anglo board members. The initial reaction was a threat to cancel the remaining assemblies. Secondly, one of the main Anglo leader's son was "beaten up" by another student, who happened to be a Mexican-American. Anglos reported that the Mexican-American boy was encouraged by one of the Mexican-American teacher aides. However, the Mexican-American's account specifies that the Anglo boy was constantly teasing the teacher aide and on this particular day the aide told him to "go pick on that boy over there if you want to be so rough." The Anglo boy took the cue and the Mexican-American boy responded by "beating him up." The Anglo parents took the boy out of the local school and placed him in a distant private school for the duration of the semester.

Students of both ethnic sectors were reported constantly to watch each other to see "who was getting away with something." During the student elections of 1972-1973, Mexican-American students reported several cases of Anglo teachers attempting to encourage Mexicans to run for school offices. This was interpreted by the Mexicanos as a traditional tactic to get the Mexicanos to split their vote. One Mexicano teacher counseled Mexicano students to "get together" and not fall into that trap. Both ethnic sectors were constantly maneuvering for control of the school environment.

The boundary lines between the two groups was highly visible when they were mobilized for a school trip or some local activity. First, during the Fall, 1973, football practices when the boys came onto the field and were waiting for the coaching staff they were strikingly divided. Mexicano boys would be talking and throwing the ball back and forth to each other. Anglos would be doing the same thing, but with Anglos. Secondly, when the band went on a football trip, it was reported that Mexican-Americans and Anglos rode on separate buses. It was further reported that the football squad was separated on the bus also. The Mexican-American boys sat in the back half of the bus and the Anglos the front half.

Ciudadanos school leaders became increasingly convinced after the election that Anglo control of schools would have to be broken completely. Whereas they had previously believed that the present Anglo administration was sympathetic to the needs of the Mexican-American and was brokering their needs, they gradually came to the conclusion that such was not the case. Hence, changes would not be forthcoming until they could acquire Mexican-American administrators and teachers. First, they would try to get rid of the Anglo administration. It was believed by Ciudadanos members that a Mexican-American superintendent would actively recruit Mexican administrative assistants and teachers. This would produce needed curricular changes. They supported this line of reasoning by pointing to the proposed bilingual program. Anglos were perceived to be procrastinating in introducing such a program. That is, the Mexican-Americans thought that Anglo bias would continue in the schools until the people making the decisions, or controlling the system, are Mexican-American. The narrative continued with the Mexican-American school leaders recalling the traditional boundaries and boundary maintenance mechanisms which have functioned in the schools to continue socializing Mexicano students to a subordinate role and Anglos to a superordinate one.

There were a number of Mexican-American families who did not join the Ciudadanos mobilization. These aggregate units did not share the Ciudadanos beliefs about the Anglos. One family spoke quite dramatically about their history of vertical economic mobility. According to their account they came from Mexico and were not able to speak English. But they have worked hard and have financed a number of children through college. Another, who ran with the Anglos as part of their slate for City Hall, believes he is a special target for Ciudadanos hostility. His decision to join the Anglos was finalized when a window was broken by a bullet. It is his assumption that the act was committed by one of the locally mobilized Ciudadanos in order to stop him from associating with the BGL unit.

Yet, there were many Mexicanos who tried to stay neutral. Generally this meant staying out of any public political activities. There were a variety of reasons for this attempted neutrality, but generally it can be related to several beliefs. First, as specified in chapter three, not all Mexicanos agreed that Anglo dominance was bad. Many Mexicanos spoke of being well treated by Anglos and that they "had nothing against them." Second, others shared the belief that Anglos should share the governance with Mexicanos but were not willing to accept the hostility and possible economic consequences associated with a political challenge. Mexicanos in both positions were constantly pressured by BGL and Ciudadanos members.

The Anglo-oriented Mexican-Americans share a number of the Anglo cultural features attached to the local ethnic relations and the mobilization. First, they contend that local Mexicanos are economically and socially subordinate because they have not worked hard enough, not because Anglos have kept them down. Secondly, they are against polarizing the locality. Thirdly, they do not feel there is any need to seek change in the existing structure of ethnic relations. One example used is the proposed bilingual program for the schools. It is their premise that such a program encourages local Mexican-American students to maintain their Spanish, which retards their social mobility. Fourthly, they believe that Ciudadanos are committed to violence. One anti-Ciudadanos Mexican-American pointed to the fact that a Ciudadanos member tried to start a fight with him the week before.

The Mexican-Americans described above are perceived by Ciudadanos, or mobilized Mexicanos, as "vendidos" (sell-outs). They are described as being "used by the Anglos, but once they became aware of this they will "come over." I was told in the winter of 1973-1974 that one of the families that had been Anglo-oriented is having second thoughts about its commitments. The writer was not able to verify this information. It is extremely difficult to live in the present situation if one is Mexicano and attached to the Anglo unit. On the one hand the Anglo relationship constantly projects the features of cultural superiority. On the other hand, the Mexican-Americans of Ciudadanos persuasion, many of whom are kin, are constantly pressing their set of cultural meanings. In a parallel fashion, it would be difficult to be an Anglo in North Town without facing the same demands.

One example illustrates the Mexican-American's predicament in the power relationship manifested by the new cultural system. One Anglo-oriented Mexican-American has a job which takes him into the Mexican-American section of North Town each day. He has to enter grocery stores, and so forth. One Mexican-American grocer has refused to allow him to enter and the man's employer has had to arrange for another employee to work the route. This same Mexicano has lost his friends and alienated many family members.

At the time of my departure the Mexican-American mobilization was still underway. No signs were observed that would lead to the conclusion that an accommodation was underway or that the local Mexicanos felt defeated.

Summary

The preceding discussion has described the Mexican-American threat to the traditional Anglo domination in North Town, after an initial analysis of the non-local cultural and power brokerage features which were believed to have contributed to the mobilization in both localities. First, cultural brokerage resulted from Mexicanos' experiences in the military service and seasonal migratory labor. Both of these experiences provided Mexicanos with different ethnic cultural and power relations. In the military a Mexicano's social position was defined according to achieved rank and not ethnicity. The seasonal migrants found some northern Anglos who did not share the cultural superiority held by South Texas Anglos. Both of these contexts resulted in an awareness that the idea of "Mexicanness" and the concomitant subordinate socio-cultural power position existing in South Texas were arbitrary Anglo impositions and not inherent in the universe. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's was also perceived by the analyst as contributing to the idea that ethnic cultural and power relations were illegitimate means of Anglo suppression. One of the most important contributions to the local mobilization was the state and regional Mexican-American organizations, from the G.I. Forum of the late 1940's to the contemporary La Raza Unida Party. Although the earlier organizations did not actively seek political confrontation with the Anglo power structure they did contribute to the brokering of a new ethnic image. The Raza Unida Party was described as a "confrontation" unit, not only brokering a set of new cultural features regarding Mexican identity but attaching these to objects and acts in the environment which could be used as power to gain greater social control.

Second, power brokerage was conceived as resulting from a number of state and federal articulations in both localities, such as the Education Act of 1965, HEW and TEA, and the federal housing and poverty programs. In each case funds were used as a means of forcing compliance with guidelines which resulted in new ethnic power relations, and had a disturbing effect upon Anglos. Mexicanos were given control of housing and poverty programs, while local schooling funds were specifically directed toward the education of Mexicanos. It was believed that this would break the Anglo educational barriers which inhibited Mexicanos from achieving greater economic and social vertical mobility.

Further, the analysis recorded the mobilization of North Town's Mexicano population during the period of November 1972 through July of 1973. There were a number of local Mexicanos in North Town who had been working for ethnic gains in controlling the city council and school board for several years prior to November, 1972. However, the Fall, 1972, county elections and the resignation earlier of the Anglo city administrators added to a long list of what Mexicanos believed to be Anglo attempts to keep them from local citizenship participation. This led the Mexicanos to organize an informal consensus unit, which they called the Ciudadanos Unidos Mexicanos. Ciudadanos members generally shared a set of cultural beliefs which regarded Anglos as dishonest, racist, and clannish, to name a few. Ciudadanos further believed that it was necessary for

Mexican-Americans to gain control of the local governance mechanisms in order to develop their neighborhood (street paving, lighting, sewerage and drainage, parks) and to provide their children with a more adequate education.

The control of the school board became a valued energy form for extending Mexican-American control over the social environment. The rationale was developed that schooling was not only the most viable means of achieving economically and socially, but that the Mexicano majority should have a school environment more appropriate to their culture. During the Winter and Spring of 1973 the Ciudadanos school board members gradually changed their ideas about Anglo schools and school leaders. While earlier they had accepted the notion that Anglo schools and school leaders were in the best interest of the Mexican-American child they later believed that both were counter productive to the interests of the Mexicanos. Anglo school leaders became increasingly perceived as impediments to a more reliable Mexican school system by Mexicano board members. During the confrontation the ethnic boundaries sharpened to the extent that those who attempted to play games with the other side were alienated by their ethnic peers.

The preceding analysis concerning the Mexicanos' mobilization often included reference to certain Anglo acts which worked to fuel the Mexicano mobilization. The writer acknowledges the problems in attempting to separate the mobilization of each ethnic sector from the responsive activities of the other. Yet, the analyst believes it will be more productive if the activities of each ethnic sector is treated separately. That is, this approach should lend clarity to the data in terms of accounting more cogently for not only what took place, but why. With this in mind the following section records the Anglo mobilization in North Town.

Anglo Response to the Mexican-American Threat

The response by North Town Anglos to local Mexican-American mobilization led to increased ethnic polarization. Where members of both units had previously developed comfortable working relationships, characterized by amiability and mutual respect, the confrontation created intense suspicion and hostility. It became almost impossible for locals of either ethnic sector to maintain inter-ethnic relations. The boundaries became so sharp and clear that one Protestant minister voiced his fear at having talked with a local Catholic priest who Anglos believed to be a key leader in the local Mexicano mobilization. The meeting between the two clergymen took place at the local funeral home and was a casual exchange of pleasantries in passing. Yet the Protestant became quite worried after the exchange as to how others might have interpreted the fact that they were talking. The Protestant had been in North Town for almost two years and this was his first meeting with the priest. This act illustrates the intensity of the boundaries and the control that Anglo superordinates were able to exert upon the behavior of other Anglos. It might be added that the Protestant minister was trying to maintain a political neutrality in order to carry out his historical function.

As previously mentioned, North Town Anglos had observed the Chicano movement in Crystal City with varying degrees of interest and concern. Prior to the Spring of 1973 most Anglos in North Town believed that "their Mexicans" were not like those of Crystal City. Local Mexicans were "level headed." Yet, some Anglos didn't accept this idea and accounted for the Crystal City "take over" as a result of the Anglos' failure to include Mexicanos in local governance. North Town Anglos who shared this latter notion were not worried about local Mexicanos mobilizing because they had been represented on the school board during most of the 1960's. In effect, the Crystal City experience was not expected to be replicated in North Town. There was a third meaning held by a number of aggregate Anglo units which eventually was responsible for local Anglo mobilization. According to this perspective Crystal City Chicanos were "conspiring" to take over all of South Texas and North Town was one of the first political units on the list. The local Ciudadanos mobilization was believed to be a covert political extension of Jose Angel Gutierrez and the Crystal City Chicano unit.

According to informants, several business and professional men and their wives had been meeting fairly regularly for at least a year and discussing the "conspiracy" of the Chicano movement in South Texas. They were particularly disturbed by what they considered the detrimental results of the Chicano take-over in Crystal City becoming a reality in North Town. Therefore, when the local Mexicanos organized the Ciudadanos Unidos Mexicanos in North Town in the Fall of 1972 it was the latter Anglo fragmented units that decided to counter with an overt informal consensus unit. Further, this unit would be "inclusive" in its membership. It would include persons of both ethnic units, which would counter the exclusively Mexican membership of the Ciudadanos and show the latter to be a racist organization. Thus, in December 1972 the ___(North)___ County Better Government League was established. A statement of purpose was agreed upon and circulated throughout the county in both languages. It reads as follows:

North County Better Government League is an organization of and for the people of North County. Its primary purpose is to actively promote good, representative government which is responsive to all the people and their needs.

The organization is for supporting those candidates which are of the highest caliber, personal integrity, background and experience which qualifies them to serve.

The organization is for keeping more than one political entity available in North County to insure that all people have a true possibility to express themselves through elected representatives.

The organization is for a viable community which can prosper and grow economically for the benefit of all our citizens. We want community harmony and everyone working together to accomplish common goals.

We are for full utilization of the abilities and talents of all our local people and equal opportunity for all without regard to political beliefs.

We support the concept of local people in positions of authority which represent the interest of local people.

We are for school systems that have as their main purpose the education of children without using them as tools for political purpose. We are for respect and obedience in the home and on and off the school campus.

The organization is for sound, honest and qualified law enforcement. We support law and order with fairness to all concerned.

We are for freedom of our religious institutions from political turmoil and upheaval.

The organization is for freedom for all people to participate and express their political beliefs without fear of intimidation.

> We are for sustaining our County and its communities as a good place to live and raise our families without prejudice and fear. We are for the projection of a non-controversial attitude which will cultivate respect and interest among other people in becoming a part of our area.

The statement of what the BGL (Better Government League) is about reflects in an antithetical fashion, all of those cultural features held by some Anglos regarding Ciudadanos. However, many of these features are synonymous with a general Anglo culture regarding all Mexican-Americans--demonstrated in an earlier chapter. First, such adjectives as good, representative, responsive, personal integrity, harmony, freedom, honesty and fairness, and experience, are intended by BGL Anglos as cultural contrasts to what they believed characterized Mexican-Americans who comprise Ciudadanos. Second, such ideas were believed by BGL Anglos to undercut the new self-concept that some local Mexicanos were attempting to broker.

The most obvious and glaring idea permeating the BGL statement of purpose is that Ciudadanos governance would not represent the interests of "all" local citizens. Hence, BGL was brokering the notion that Mexicanos generally take care of their own. There is also a heavy emphasis upon local governance, which exhibits the Anglo fears regarding Crystal City Chicanos "taking over" North Town, as mentioned previously. The school system is believed to be an important loci for possible ethnic political confrontation (via Crystal City), while churches can also be disrupted (also a Crystal City experience).

The BGL had little opposition to mobilizing the Anglos of North Town. There were a number of Anglos who did not share the Anglo culture of the mobilization, but some of these were gradually persuaded while others were effectively neutralized. The analyst was not aware of any Anglos who did not support the political candidates endorsed by the BGL. The analyst was never able to see a membership list but was told by several that the BGL had several hundred dues paying members. Among this membership were approximately a dozen Mexican-Americans. This estimate was arrived at by observation and information supplied by Anglo members. In the same manner the analyst concluded that the Mexicano BGL members were persons heavily dependent upon the Anglos economically. At BGL meetings, in front of Anglos at casual cliques, and to the analyst in private, these Mexicanos spoke of their belief in ethnic "togetherness." They seemed to be very anxious to communicate a pro-Anglo posture. At the same time they did not believe in dividing the town along ethnic lines. In fact, they often expressed hostility toward Ciudadanos members for "causing all this trouble." They did not believe Anglos were the cause of the depressed economic conditions experienced by most local Mexicanos, but rather, the latter were lacking in initiative and a willingness to work hard. It appears that many of the Mexicanos claimed by BGL Anglos to support them were in fact playing both sides in order to survive. The analyst has since learned that several of the Mexicanos believed by Anglos to support their position have actively sought the Ciudadanos members' good will. They have attended Ciudadanos rallies and sought the company of Mexicano leadership in order to maintain ethnic relations. However, others have publicly supported the BGL and cut their relationships with fellow Mexicanos. Unless one retreated into the hinterland and hid behind some cactus it was well neigh impossible to escape the separatist movement taking place.

The analyst alluded to the fact that the local BGL superordinates used their beliefs about Crystal City in interpreting the local Ciudadanos activity. This contention is supported by the BGL statement of purpose. Many of the BGL members reported to the analyst that the Crystal City Chicano movement was a "Communist conspiracy" and Ciudadanos was part of this umbrella. Anglo informants did not mean that any of the local Mexicanos were Communists, although there would have been several they would have been willing to consider in this category. More importantly was the belief that local Mexicanos were being "used" by outsiders to foster the conspiracy. When the analyst sought to determine if some of the Chicano outsiders were Communists Anglos were not quite willing to be that specific. One man did state that "they" were trained in Cuba. This was supposed to signal an affirmative answer to the question. For other Anglos the behavior of Chicanos was so difficult to understand that the "Communist conspiracy" was the only logical explanation. Although this idea was shared by a significant number of local Anglos it was not used as a public rationale for gathering public support--at least overtly. It was used in private associations and had the effect of stimulating Anglos to help get out the vote on election day.

The "conspiracy" idea was mentioned as attached to a take-over of the public schools. A Ciudadanos school board was supposed to lead to an all Chicano administration and gradually a complete Chicano faculty. This would then lead to a Chicano curriculum and the dominance of Spanish language usage in the classrooms. In effect, a total Chicano school system which would "push out" the Anglo students. The paradigm of Chicano schools was also applied to the local governance apparatus, such as city hall and county courthouse. In the latter cases the Anglos would gradually be squeezed out of the city and county, leaving a total Chicano environment. For those Anglos who chose to remain life would be intolerable. The "conspiracy" notion was joined by all of the other cultural features traditionally attached to Mexican-Americans and detailed in Chapter Three.

The writer does not intend to leave the impression that BGL political consolidation was as easy as the preceding analysis might imply. The fact that several beliefs regarding Mexican mobilization were present among Anglos was mentioned above. Further, the earlier section regarding the Mexicanos mobilization described a number of Anglo response tactics during the Spring, 1973, election which revealed the way in which Anglos often held slightly different ideas concerning the purpose of Ciudadanos. This difference was seemingly related to the type and degree of face-to-face relations an Anglo had experienced. Most of the Anglos who held to the conspiracy idea seemed to have either had little personal experience with Mexicanos or the experience was typified in a traditional superordinate-subordinate worker relationship. Others, such as school board members, had experienced Mexican-Americans as power coordinates which led them to more personalistic differentiations. That is, the Anglo board members were generally prone to avoid lumping all local Mexicanos in a conspiratorial definition. They seemed to be last to accept many of the cultural features attached to Ciudadanos by the BGL.

They were further able to make personal distinctions between the Ciudadanos members. Some Ciudadanos members were believed to be extremely anti-Anglo and intimately connected to the Crystal City movement while others were perceived as acting out of purely local altruisms, such as good citizenship means local community involvement. This latter category was early used for the Mexicano school board members. Yet, the Anglo board members constantly worried about the ability of the Mexicano school board members to remain independent from the others. It seems important to the analyst to note that the type and degree of relationships experienced by members of both ethnic sectors is a key contributive factor in accounting for Anglo response patterns.

The BGL election strategy was designed to increase local Anglo awareness of the Mexican-American threat, or conspiracy, while not provoking local Mexicanos. However, this backfired early in the campaign. The most dramatic event in the campaign occurred when the BGL sponsored a public meeting and invited several Anglos from Crystal City to explain the effects of the Chicano "take-over." The meeting was held at a local dance hall owned by a Mexican-American family who was siding with the BGL. The analyst attended the meeting and estimated the crowd to have been approximately five hundred. The hall was full.

The BGL chairman introduced the speakers by saying that the purpose of the present meeting was to hear from several Crystal City citizens who would describe the results of the Chicano take-over. There would be a period of questions after each speaker finished. The speakers emphasized that there has been a heavy out-migration of "good" people, loss of industry (present and future), loss of economic growth, and general social strife. The take-over was characterized as rampant with illegal acts.

After the speakers' presentations several questions were asked in a perfunctory manner. At this point a local Ciudadanos member took the floor and began addressing the gathering. Briefly, it was his contention that North Town didn't need outsiders coming in and telling locals how to handle their problems. He was often greeted with boos, hissing, and cursing from Anglos. He was joined by other Mexicanos who were quite insistent that Anglos had been demeaning the act of bringing outsiders into the local situation and were upset that there seemed to be two sets of rules applied, one for the Anglos and one for the Mexicano.

It became evident at this point that a rather significant contingent of Chicanos from Crystal City were in attendance. Mr. Ramsey Muniz, the Raza Unida Party candidate for Texas Governor in the last election, was present and addressed the speakers. He contended that the Anglos from Crystal City were only telling one side of the story about Crystal City and demanded the right to present the "whole" thing. Muniz and the Crystal City Chicanos were told by the BGL chairman that the meeting's purpose was not to present both sides of the issue. The meeting became very unruly and incoherent. There is no way that the analyst can adequately communicate the intense hostility present at this meeting. Both ethnic sectors were segregated by the seating arrangement and the interaction became so emotional that the BGL chairman closed the meeting. It is nothing short of a miracle that the event did not lead to overt physical violence.

The meeting described above was important for several reasons. First, it was the first time that local Mexicanos had publicly challenged Anglos. Second, it exhibited the existing ethnic boundaries and overtly symbolized what had previously existed covertly--political polarization along ethnic lines. The analyst found some Anglos who voiced the opinion that the meeting had been a bad tactical mistake and placed the blame on "racist" BGL members. However, most Anglos believed the behavior of the Mexicanos at the meeting supported their contention that Mexicanos are disorderly, boisterous, foul mouthed, and prone to an excess of emotion which can lead to physical violence. On the other hand, local Mexicanos believed the meeting to be another example of Anglo chicanery. One Mexicano informant mentioned that after the meeting several Mexican-Americans attempted to speak to the BGL leader regarding the one-sided presentation and were told by the BGL leader that "we speak and you listen." This means that Anglos speak and Mexicanos listen. The Mexicanos responded by stating that this traditional habit was no longer to be followed.

The remainder of the Spring 1973 election campaign was anti-climatic when compared with the previously described meeting. Anglos responded to Ciudadanos tactics wherever they cropped up. Ciudadanos radio spots were countered by BGL radio spots. Ciudadanos newspaper ads were countered by BGL ads. However, it became obvious early in the campaign that the BGL had more money and more leisure time to devote to the campaign.

A second public meeting was attempted by the BGL about a month after the meeting described above. The second meeting was a covered dish supper and a speaker out of the Governor's office. The audience was mostly BGL Anglos and their supporters, however, there were approximately two dozen Mexicanos present. The members of Ciudadanos did not attend. The Governor's man was a Mexican-American and pleased the Anglos by emphasizing citizenship, hard work, and the secret ballot. The citizenship theme stressed that it was necessary for all people to work together regardless of ethnicity and that local problems should be solved by local citizens. The stress on the work ethic supported the Anglos' notion that anyone who really wants to succeed can do so by honest hard work. The third theme explained that the ballot was a secret act and that none should be intimidated. It seems that Anglos had been told by some Mexicanos that they were afraid to vote for fear of Mexicano reprisals. One Anglo told the analyst that the Mexicano police chief's wife was telling her ethnic peers that they better vote for Ciudadanos because her husband had the key to the ballot box and could check their ballot. Anglos ran the following ad in the local newspaper:

> Has anyone ever told you that the election officials or anyone else can tell you how you voted? If so they do not understand the secret ballot.
>
> You do not identify yourself on the ballot - if you should, it is thrown out as a mutilated ballot. You do sign the stub and detach it from the ballot.
>
> The stub box is sealed by the District Clerk before delivering it to the polls and remains sealed until it is returned to the District Clerk following the election. The stubs are kept by the District Clerk and destroyed after time for contest expires.
>
> The unidentified ballots are placed in the ballot box which is kept by the election officials or their agent until destroyed.
>
> NO ONE IS ALLOWED OR AUTHORIZED TO COMPARE THE STUBS WITH THE BALLOTS.
>
> Therefore your ballot is SECRET.

After the meeting several Anglo informants tole the analyst how disappointed they were that the "right" Mexicans were not able to hear the speaker. It would have "done them good."

The two previously described BGL events record their attempts to use derivative power to exert and extend their control over a larger segment of the social environment. The visitors from Crystal City and the governor's office were brokering the local BGL's cultural features regarding the local confrontation.

A number of examples were given in the section regarding Mexicano mobilization describing Anglo campaign tactics, such as the use of a Mexican-American secretary to split the Mexicanos' vote in one of the school board positions, the Anglo use of derivative power from the state to support their contention that the Mexicano police chief was not qualified, and the Anglos' attempts to keep the Mexican city council from annexing a Mexican-American residential section prior to the elections. These are all examples of the continued application of Anglo skill authority to out-maneuver the Mexicanos in Ciudadanos.

The BGL unit also showed its superior skill authority in organizing the Anglo neighborhood. Blocks were assigned to members who organized telephone committees and set up transportation facilities on election day. Numerous informants reported being called as many as four or five times by BGL members and supporters encouraging them to go vote in support of the BGL slate. The Anglos of North

Town were highly mobilized to defeat what many considered a Chicano conspiracy to take control of their town.

The Anglo BGL unit returned the two Anglo incumbents to the school board. However, the city election was close. The Ciudadanos' candidate for Mayor won, while Anglos narrowly squeezed out victories for the other council positions--and only after a recount. The BGL believed that Mexican-Americans had committed a number of irregularities during the voting process and filed suit. The judicial process took most of the year to complete and resulted in a number of Mexicanos being fined for voting incorrectly. The Anglo mayoral candidate was proved to be the winner and took office. According to the court records there were voting irregularities on both sides, but most of the problems were the results of the Mexicanos' activities. Some of the problems encountered by the court were: voting by non-residents, non-registered voters, names appearing twice, incorrect registration numbers, alien and felons voting (on both sides), some attested to the fact that they didn't vote and yet their names appeared on ballots, ballot stubs were marked incorrectly, and a number of absentee ballots were incorrectly used. In the end the Ciudadanos lost approximately 179 votes.

School Leadership Response

The writer noted earlier that school board members and administrative personnel of both ethnic sectors had developed a fairly compatible relationship prior to the election campaign of 1973. Although there were differences between individuals regarding another's expertise in various aspects of school administration the leadership relationships could be described as harmonious. The board was struggling with the development of a bilingual program, budget, taxation, discipline problems, and the regular routine problems associated with operating a school district. However, with the election campaign and the resulting sharpened ethnic boundaries the board's harmonious ethnic relations deteriorated rapidly between January and March of 1973.

The analyst has already recorded the inability of the Mexicanos on the school board to get together to elect one of their own ethnic members to the chairmanship position when the board reorganized after the election and the way one Anglo used skill authority to prevent the Mexicano board members to impeach the Anglo chairman. Such acts in the initial stages of the new board's life functioned to maintain the existing polarization and competition, but were themselves the results of the town's ethnic political confrontation.

Several of the board members of each ethnic sector worked hard to maintain friendly relations, but the meaning systems held by their ethnic peers were too strong to resist. Gradually the beliefs of the BGL leaders tended to prevail and guide the response of Anglo board members. For example, the Anglo school board incumbent who got another Mexicano to run in the same place in order to split the Mexican-American vote had been assured by the Mexican-American school board members of their support. The Anglo's decision to get the Mexicana to run seems to have been made after a great deal of indecision. The Anglo was not sure he could trust the Mexican-American board members. After making the decision to run the Mexicana the Anglo told the analyst that it was necessary "to do to them before they did to you." Evidently the Anglo had been counseled by Anglo coordinates that Mexicans are tricky and deceptive. Furthermore, the same Anglo was hesitant to make a trip to a nearby school district to analyze their bilingual program for fear it was some kind of trick by the Mexicano board members to get her out of town. Mexican-American board members were seemingly startled by both of these events. Their disappointment quickly turned to anger and was used by their ethnic coordinates as justification for their belief that Anglos are tricky and deceptive.

After the election the school board's issues became power relational features between the two ethnic sectors. Since four out of the seven members were Mexican-Americans the latter had sufficient votes to control the issues, but they were often unable to get together--as recorded previously. Further, the Anglos strategically worked outside the board to find social and economic means of gaining control over individual Mexicano board members. For example, the post-election board meetings were characterized by a crowd of BGL observers, which greatly intimidated the Mexicano board members. The Mexicanos attempted to counter by getting an equal number of Mexicanos to attend board meetings. At several of the board meetings members of both ethnic units had tape recorders. Most of this activity was related to the Anglo expectation that the Mexicana would attempt to impeach the Anglo chairman again. These meetings were characterized by a great deal of tension. Anglos were seated on one side of the room and Mexican-Americans on the other. The Mexican-American board members were not able to stand the increased intimidation and countered with a boycott. Thus, the board lacked a quorum and school business that necessitated board action just had to wait. This became a fairly good device for agitating the Anglos.

Anglo attempts to use economic pressure became their most effective weapon in order to control the school board. As Anglos analyzed each of the Mexicano school board members there was one especially vulnerable to power pressure. This man worked with his father in tending a fairly large produce business and cultivating a great deal of leased land in the local area, as well as in Mexico and the Rio Grande Valley. First, Anglos attempted to use their contacts with the Mexicanos' business associates in Mexico and the Valley to influence the Mexicano board member. This failed. Second, one of the local Anglos, who also happened to be a school board member, refused to re-lease a large tract of land to the Mexican family. The Mexicano board member's father spent a number of hours one morning attempting to dissuade the Anglo from this course of action. The Anglo told him the only way he would re-lease the land is if the father would convince the son to "vote right" on the school board. The father is reported to have refused, saying that the son is a man in his own right and cannot be influenced. Although the father refused it is noteworthy that the son became conspicuously absent from school board meetings, which threw the voting into a deadlock, three Mexicanos to three Anglos.

The only business that was really accomplished during the post-election period was that vitally necessary to school maintenance. Nothing creative was attempted. On one occasion the superintendent lamented the fact that the board had not met for three months (summer period) and business was stacked up. At one point in late summer the school system needed to hire fifteen or twenty teachers whose applications were stacked up waiting for board approval. The superintendent mentioned that a number of the better applicants had already signed with other districts because they got tired of waiting. He was afraid that it was too late to fill the teaching vacancies before classes were to begin.

The superintendent tended to reflect the local Anglo superordinates' beliefs concerning the Mexicanos and their recent mobilization. During the early stages of the field work the analyst recorded that the superintendent believed he had open, friendly, and confidential relationships with at least three of the four Mexican-American school board members. The analyst substantiated this in interviews with the Mexicano board members and through observation of their interaction. One of the Mexicano board members didn't attend regularly, nor did he have a very good grasp of the school issues. As the year progressed and the local ethnic confrontation heated up the superintendent gradually became estranged from the Mexican board members. The separation increased until both the superintendent and the Mexican-American board members believed the other to be the enemy. The Mexicanos finally spoke of replacing the superintendent. In fairness to the superintendent he seemed to expend a great deal of anguish trying to stay neutral. Whether this was feigned neutrality the analyst cannot be sure. Nevertheless, superordinates in both ethnic sectors were constantly placing the superintendent in situations where he had to make relational choices.

The principals and teaching faculty generally maintained a neutral position with regard to the local ethnic confrontation. One principal resigned at the end of the 1973 school year because he got caught between the two ethnic sectors over a discipline problem. Every discipline problem was related to the local competition and the principal and teachers were well aware of this fact and tried to evade as many student confrontations as possible. Another school principal left North Town because he felt the atmosphere created an untenable working condition. However, unless a particular student event called a teacher or principal to the board's attention most school personnel tended to keep a low public visibility. There were a few Anglo teachers who were married to influential locals, as well as several Mexicano administrators and teachers, who were active in the local political units. Yet, most stayed out of political activity. Research conducted since the analyst left North Town indicates that teachers reflect the local cultural organizational features. Anglo teachers share the cultural superiority of local Anglos in relation to the Mexicanos and Mexicano teachers share the emerging Chicano culture, with one known exception. The latter exception shares the emerging ethnic pride that characterizes the Chicano movement but does not share the Anglo hatred nor the politicizing methods inherent in the movement.

Although the majority of the teachers did not participate in the local political activity they were not unaware of its meaning or implications. Several teachers moved to organize a local chapter of the Texas Classroom Teacher's Association (TCTA). The fact that the chapter was organized early in the Fall of 1972 shows the foresight of the organizers. This act was not welcomed by the school board because they believed the act to be an attempt to gather more power for a confrontation with them. This was only partly true. The purpose of the chapter's organization was twofold. First, some teachers did feel they needed greater protection from what often seemed like arbitrary and unfair actions by the school board. It seems that several teachers were dismissed by the school board as the result of mishandling several students. The TCTA organizers did not quarrel with the fact that the acts did take place, but that the teachers accused were not given a hearing. Thus, a precedent was seemingly established that could possibly lead to arbitrary dismissals. The TCTA provides the resources for a teacher's defense in cases where the teacher feels he or she is not fairly treated.

The organization becomes the local teacher's political insurance. Second, the local teachers were aware of what had taken place in Crystal City and hoped the TCTA would provide defense in case Chicanos took over the school board and began an indiscriminate firing of all Anglo teachers. This latter rationale for the act of creating a local TCTA chapter exemplifies the writer's earlier contention that Anglo teachers shared the local Anglos' culture of the mobilization.

The attempt by the superintendent to maintain ethnic neutrality often meant an inability to take a decisive stand on an administrative issue or at best to assume a vacillating stand. This was interpreted by principals and teachers as a sign of weakness. Administrators, staff, and teachers were unanimous in their perception of the superintendent as a "puppet" of the school board. There was the general consensus that the superintendent could not be counted upon for support in case of problems with the school board or the local citizenry.

According to teachers the students reflected the ethnic separatism of the locale. Of great interest is the fact that student school behavior tended to reflect the increased ethnic confrontation which characterized the campaign in the Spring of 1973. The high school principal and numerous teachers agreed that the frequency of student discipline problems increased with the political activity fomenting in the town. The analyst described several of these student events in chapter three. Further research in North Town is presently being conducted and should reveal that student culture is a replication of the locale's ethnic organizational features.

Summary and Interpretation

There are several general patterns to the "threat and response" relationships of North Town's ethnic sectors. First, some North Town Mexicanos organized to challenge the traditional Anglo power structure as a result of acquiring new meanings regarding the form of traditional Anglo domination. Whereas the prior colonial culture designated Anglo leadership as an ontological phenomenon, the new meanings resulting from the conflict stipulated that it was onerous and not ontological. Anglo dominance was believed onerous because it had not provided for the modernization of the Mexican-American sector of town nor an educational system that facilitated Mexicano students' access into the more lucrative socio-economic streams. Second, the Anglo response to the Ciudadanos mobilization was dominated by a unit (BGL) which shared a "conspiratorial" meaning attached to the regional and state Chicano movement. This meaning was subsequently attached to the local Ciudadanos unit. However, Anglos additionally attached all of the traditional cultural notions about Mexicans to the local mobilization--Mexicans are socially and culturally inferior.

The Ciudadanos unit did not have the skill authority power nor the social power necessary to successfully confront the local Anglo units. Anglos were able to not only mobilize their own ethnic coordinates but a number of Mexicanos as well. A significant number of Mexicanos played a neutral role. Together these factors prevented a Ciudadanos victory. The inability to successfully compete with Anglos was consistently exhibited in the school board interaction. The Mexican-American board members were unable to act in unison, as a single unit, when the issue represented crucial control of the board. Mexicanos on the school board were constantly out-maneuvered by the Anglos. Further, Anglos were able to use their economic power to neutralize a key Mexicano board member. Even so, the new culture shared by Ciudadanos regarding their relations with Anglos and the values associated with the control of schools and other local governance mechanisms, was brokered to Mexicano school personnel and students. It is significant that the new Mexican-American culture, although shared to some degree with state Raza Unida Party members, only took shape and became organizationally relevant to North Town Mexicanos in interaction with local Anglos.

This supports Adams' contention that a change in power relations is accompanied by new meanings attached to valued forms. Further, this also supports Barth's belief that ethnic boundaries and cultural systems are created in ethnic interaction and not isolation.

The Anglos were mobilized by a power unit (BGL) which possessed a "conspiratorial" culture regarding Mexican mobilization, in addition to the historical ideas regarding the social and cultural inferiority of Mexicanos in general. The BGL was able to successfully mobilize most of the Anglo population in North Town, neutralize some Mexicanos and control others, and call down derivative sources of power from the state and region. Other fragmented Anglo units who either believed that the local Ciudadanos were not conspiring or that some Mexican governance would have been justifiable and worthwile, were either neutralized or brought into the BGL conspiratorial culture. This included most Anglo school leaders. Although Anglo school leaders were not encouraged to publicly participate in the BGL they certainly seemed to be acculturated and their behavior was watched for signs of disloyalty. School leaders and many students clearly reflected the local ethnic confrontation and boundaries. In fact, the school was reported to be microcosm of the Town's ethnic separatism and the associated system of meanings.

It was fairly obvious to the analyst during the investigation that the BGL members' belief that local Ciudadanos members were part of a Crystal City conspiracy was entirely false. It seems evident that local Ciudadanos members shared with other Mexicanos and Chicanos across the Southwest United States the general idea that they could and should exercise their responsibility to govern in order to facilitate Mexican-American socio-economic growth. Further, it seems that most Anglos were generally not willing to encourage Mexicanos to participate in local affairs unless they could control the process. In other words, Anglos were superordinate power holders who would generally be unwilling to relinquish some control. Although some North Town Ciudadanos members had contacts with Crystal City Chicanos it was definitely not true that they were organizationally part of the Crystal City units.
The investigations which have taken place since the writer left North Town substantiate this claim. Local Ciudadanos members kept looking for a way to calm Anglo fears without success. The conspiratorial and historical beliefs about Mexicanos was too strong to shake. Thus, North Town's ethnic confrontation has resulted in an "extremely" sharp ethnic differentiation which is shaping school leadership, was well as the total student culture.

CHAPTER V

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN THREAT TO DOMINANCE AND THE ANGLO RESPONSE

PART II: THE CASE OF SOUTH TOWN

The mobilization of South Texas Mexican-Americans varies somewhat from that of North Town and necessitates a separate treatment. In the first part of Chapter Four the writer described some of the salient and non-local factors contributing to ethnic mobilization in South Town. Internally the first most obvious contrast with North Town's Mexican-American mobilization was the mobilizing unit's composition (relational set). Whereas the North Town unit was composed of middle-aged entrepreneurs, South Town's La Raza Unida Party was initiated and has been controlled by an aggregate of young adults (ages 18-28). These persons exhibit characteristics shared with many of their national age peers--long hair, distinct clothing, and so forth. Secondly, the unit has been overtly a Raza Unida unit from its inception in 1969. It was spawned by the activity of Jose Angel Gutierrez and associates in Crystal City during this early period. The local South Town RUP unit won the mayor's office and several seats on the city council in their first confrontation, which was the election of April, 1970. The City has had two successive Chicano mayors and several councilmen since this first election. They were able to acquire a seat on the county commissioners court in the Fall of 1972.

Control of the schools has been a primary objective of the local RUP mobilization. With the Spring election of 1970 two RUP candidates won seats on the school board. This was, interestingly, the first year that the school board candidates had run according to "places." The Anglo rationale behind this tactic is the same as encountered in North Town, that is, to keep the Mexican-American plurality from sweeping the board. However, the two RUP board members of 1970 were joined in 1972 by two more associates. The election of 1971 witnessed the defeat of the RUP candidates. It is interesting to note that the four RUP candidates running in 1971 were very young and exhibited the traits described earlier as associated with the young adult culture. With the exception of one, the other candidates winning positions were middle-aged Mexican-American entrepreneurs. Even this one exception deviates from the normative patterns set by the rest of the RUP unit. The young man dresses well, compared with what local Anglos believe is sloppy and dirty about the dress of local RUP members. His hair is not as long and unkempt as other RUP members, and most importantly, his father is a respected Mexican-American entrepreneur.

The early stage of the RUP mobilization was characterized by a significant or relatively large Mexican-American and Chicano informal consensus unit. (Some were self-descriptively Mexican-Americans, others Chicano--thus the use of the two labels.) A number of the leading Mexicano entrepreneurs shared the notions related to local Anglo oppression expressed by the RUP leaders and joined the early mobilization efforts. In fact, these persons became the most successful candidates--as pointed out above.

The cultural features attached to the mobilization is generally similar to that found in North Town. That is, the Mexicano section of town needs paved streets, lighting, drainage, and parents want better education for the children. However, South Town's RUP members further demanded that more Mexicanos be employed in city and county positions. The city hall, the county courthouse, and especially the sheriff's office, have traditionally been dominated by Anglos, when the majority of the people are Mexican-American/Chicano. Again, the RUP unit wanted to exchange the commodities food program for low-income families for food stamps. The rationale accompanying this notion was that the food stamps provide the recipient with more control over valued objects, and hence more pride. RUP members pointed out that local ranchers and farmers receive millions of dollars in government subsidies each year, in comparison to eighty-six thousand dollars a year for the Mexican-American poor. Although these figures are not accurate (see tables , ,) the importance of this perception lies in the fact that local Mexican-Americans believe that Anglos use "the system" in an organizational sense, that is, they make it work for them and justify such acts in terms of a "just" reward for hard work. At the same time, Anglos look down on Mexican-Americans for accepting welfare dollars because it is supposed to be a "hand-out," or "something for nothing."

The local RUP published a newspaper, Nosotros: El Pueblo (We the People). An analysis of a 1970 issue reveals RUP concern for the election process and the local schooling. First, there was evidently a concerted effort to get the city to change the voting location from the County Courthouse to a recreational hall in the Mexican-American section of town. The courthouse was defined as "a place of oppression to Mexican-Americans." This meant that the courthouse is a place where "one has to go when something is wrong" and does not provide the kind of free and open atmosphere that should characterize an election. At the same time the courthouse is in the Anglo section of town, with all the historical meanings attached to that fact, and further, forces the relatively poorer Mexicano to travel a greater distance.

Second, education and preparation are viewed by RUP as distinct phenomena. Education to a Mexican-American refers to that insight which parents communicate to their children and "preparation" is that which the Anglo school system communicates for future job fitness. The particular narrative in Nosotros which describes this difference continued with an exhortation to all Mexican-Americans to be more concerned with their children's school. One example that was mentioned related to the perceived oppressive manners of one Anglo school administrator. This particular principal had a reputation for being over-zealous in administering discipline, especially to the Mexican-American students. It was the contention of the local RUP leaders that he was hired for the particular purpose of controlling Mexican-American students. A number of cases were cited where students had been physically harmed and such were examples of what can happen when parents do not stay in touch with the schools. The author of the article urged the Mexican-Americans to put aside their timidity and protect their children from Anglo oppression in the schools. Further, the school's oppressive environment was cited as a major cause of the high Mexican-American "drop-out" rate.

The second phase of the Raza unit's attempts to mobilize the local Mexican-American population may be characterized as a loss-of-control period. The entrepreneurs who had joined the movement in the early phase gradually became disenchanted and dropped out. They ended up forming a coalition with local Anglos. There were a number of acts which led to this break with RUP. In each case RUP leaders were accused by these entrepreneurs of following abrasive and intimidating methods. The entrepreneurs who dropped out unanimously supported the notion that RUP leaders would not allow differing opinions on any issue. One informant stated that the RUP leadership came to see him about running for a particular office, but began to specify the particular actions involved in filling this office. Furthermore, the instructions were given in a very condescending manner. The entrepreneur ran the RUP leaders off and told the analyst that "no kids with long hair are going to tell me what to do." Another described the same type of relationship after he had been elected under the auspices of RUP. The latter stated that his attempt to discuss his ideas relating to the problems were shunted aside and he was finally defined as a "vendido." Another entrepreneur caught in the same situation mentioned that his children were threatened with physical harm if he did not go along with the RUP leaders.

One particular act which had wide repercussions was the physical assault by a RUP member on a school board member, who was also a member of the same party. This young man was at the pool room which functions as a gathering place for party members and reportedly engaged a colleague in a heated discussion relating to school policy. The discussion ended with the board member getting physically slapped around. The board member was the son of an important Mexican-American entrepreneur and the beating resulted in the whole family publicly repudiating the local Raza Unida movement.

It has been RUP's contention that the entrepreneurs discussed above were "vendidos" and had used the party to get elected. Further, the "vendidos" work with the Anglos because they are "ignorant" of the fact that they are being used to co-opt the power of the Chicano movement. They are believed to have played a retarding role in the movement's ability to mobilize the Mexicanos in South Town.

Raza Unida Party's assault on the entrepreneurs elected to the city council under the party's label revolves around the entrepreneurs' betrayal of certain valued acts which had been previously agreed upon. First, there was the agreement that local Mexican-Americans need ambulance service. Second, the city manager was to be replaced with a Mexican-American who was sympathetic to RUP and the needs of the Mexican-American section of town--regarding such features as paving streets, lighting, drainage, etc. Thirdly, RUP perceived a need for more Mexican-Americans to fill the jobs provided by the city. The new council, which included some party members from the entrepreneurial category, was supposed to make these changes. However, the ambulance service never was provided, the new city manager was not a movement Mexican, or Chicano, and there was not a significant change in the city's employment practices. At least, these are the charges made by the local RUP leaders.

The Mexican-American entrepreneurial units who became disenchanted with RUP leaders in the second phase of the attempted mobilization reject a number of the Party's values and value-class acts. First, and most importantly, is the disagreement over methodology. The entrepreneurs unanimously agreed that change should not be induced through what they labeled "violent" and/or "intimidating" means. That is, people should be reasoned with and have an opportunity to freely participate in the formulation of goals and solutions, rather than have them forced upon them by a small group of leaders. Second, contrary to RUP's notion, the entrepreneurs did not view all local Anglos as bad, ruthless, and oppressive. There are local Anglos that entrepreneurs agreed fit this category, and they were able to reach a consensus that traditionally Anglo-Mexicano relations were characterized as oppressive. Yet, it is dangerous to generalize all Anglos. Entrepreneurs were able to designate certain Anglos that were understanding and willing to "work with local Mexican-Americans" in correcting the local social deficiencies. It was the opinion of most entrepreneurs that to alienate such Anglos would be foolish.

Third, even though Mexican-American entrepreneurs accepted the fact that the ethnic relations of South Town had historically been oppressive, they were not willing to transmit the resultant hate for the Anglo to Mexican-American children, which is the effect they believe RUP has had. Fourth, given the inability of Mexican-American entrepreneurs to accept the antagonistic and abrasive behavior of the RUP leaders they concluded that the latter must be "ripping off" the local poor Mexicanos. RUP's attempt to mobilize through polarization has led to this belief. An added feature attached by entrepreneurs to their decision was that RUP leaders provided no discernible sign of employment which would account for their income. Yet, the RUP leaders drove nice cars and seemed to always have spending money. (This bothered the local Anglos enormously.) The result was that entrepreneurs believed that Party leaders must be living off the people they were pretending to help.

Even though the entrepreneurs shared with RUP leaders the notion that traditional Anglo-Mexicano relations can be characterized as oppressive, the entrepreneurs are quick to point out that ethnicity should not be used to account for all subordinate relationships. That is, it is believed by entrepreneurs that when a man "works hard" and gets ahead economically and is "then" discriminated against because of ethnicity, this constitutes real oppression. Thus, the entrepreneurs believe that many Mexican-Americans are poor due to their own lack of initiative and not as a result of any Anglo activity. This is contrary to RUP's belief that most Mexican-Americans are poor and subordinate primarily because of Anglo suppression.

The entrepreneurial concept of discrimination emerges out of a perception of proven managerial-business acumen on their part and the fact that they believe there have been many times in recent history when Anglos could have chosen them to help with local governance but refused to do so. This provides an account for the entrepreneur's participation in the local Raza Unida movement--they were effectively shut out of the Anglo operation. Clearly most of the Mexican-American entrepreneurs share important cultural notions with local Anglos. Most importantly is the belief that hard work will effect one's economic and social mobility. Not surprisingly, several of the Mexican-

American entrepreneurs spoke with more emotional emphasis than most Anglos concerning the general lack of initiative exhibited by most local Mexican-Americans.

The preceding provides a general overview of La Raza Unida's attempts to mobilize the Mexican-American population of South Town and purveys the context for the Party's attempt to control the school system. The predominant competitive activity in South Town revolved around the control of schools. The following is an account of the competition and the values attached by RUP to the control of schools.

The local Raza Unida Party has made a consistent and concerted effort to control the school system since the Party's organization. The party leaders believe that schools are the primary locus for socio-cultural change. First, to control schools means, for RUP, the control of the total learning environment, i.e., who teaches, what is taught, and how it is taught. Schooling is believed by RUP to be an Anglo environment, communicating Anglo cultural superiority. With Chicano control of schools, RUP believes that Anglo cultural intimidation and the consequent low negative self-image of the Mexican-American child will come to an end. The Chicano oriented school is expected to produce Mexicanos who have pride in themselves and their cultural heritage.[1] These students will populate Aztlan and will take the positions of leadership and governance. Such a process is supposed to mean the end of Anglo oppression.

With the preceding goal in mind the local Party was particularly disappointed by the vendidos who occupied the school board with the Party's help in the early 1970's. The local Party newspaper for April 15, 1973, devoted a significant amount of space to the values attached to schools and the inability of the Mexican-American entrepreneurial board members to act on behalf of their race. An analysis of this newspaper reveals that RUP was brokering the following values: First, a school atmosphere should be created "where students attend class for the pleasure of attending." Second, the majority of the students are Mexicano, therefore the board should hire Mexicano teachers who "have the desire to help the Raza and are in the movement." Third, the dress codes should be abolished and in its place school leaders should promote a more effective relationship with the parents. Fourth, the school leadership should help create more jobs for Mexican-Americans and create new courses to enhance skill development--for adults as well as the youth. Fifth, the school should have a bilingual program. Sixth, the school should be the center of community activity for all persons. Seventh, the board should provide teacher aides and the opportunity to pursue further education and the poor should be given priority in such categories of school employment. Eighth, there is a need for a kindergarten for all children over three years of age. And last, the school board should be directly responsible to the "whole town" and not a special group of Anglos.

As further support for the earlier premise that RUP leaders believe the school environment to be alien to Mexicanos, the same newspaper (April 15, 1973) characterizes most of the school teachers of South Town schools as racist. It is contended that Mexican-American students have no one at school with whom they can confide. The fears associated with Anglo use of schools to dissociate Mexican-American children from their own culture is illustrated by a statement of one RUP member: "They took away our country, then our lands, now they want to take away our children."

In contrast to North Town's Mexicano mobilization the RUP in South Town was early concerned with organizing local students. A Mexican-American Youth Organization was organized in the initial stages of the mobilization and several others have been organized since that time, namely Estudiantes de Aztlan and Raza Joven.

Raza Unida leaders made frequent visits to the schools and to school board meetings during the early phase of mobilization and continued this practice, with varying degrees of intensity, through the Spring of 1973. Through the defeat of RUP candidates in the Spring of 1973 by an almost 2 to 1 margin, plus the loss of the Mexicano entrepreneurs, the school administration had sufficient power to control the school environment and keep the RUP leaders from continuing their harassment. However, RUP has kept constant pressure on the school board in an attempt to push for valued changes. There were several petitions presented to the school board and represented changes that RUP leaders believed necessary to a Chicano school system. Two were presented in 1970 and another in 1972. These will be presented in their entirety and briefly critiqued. A comparison of the petitions should provide further insights into the historical continuities and changes which have marked the mobilization attempts to control the schools. Names of persons and places which might tend to reveal the locality's identity have been deleted.

The following, with 242 signatures, circulated throughout the Mexican-American sector in 1970:

> We are the people, we are the government and we the people have the right to ask our public servants to perform duties which carry out the law of the land. As citizens of the United States, we have the right to provide for ourselves and our children, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."
>
> As Chicano citizens, we are interested that our brothers and our children receive an education which can incorporate the best that the two prevalent

cultures in our town can offer. We desire that our students become a human being who understand (sic) and can cope with our society which is very rapidly becoming pluralistic. We hope that our educational system can become the instrument which can bring about the full frutation (sic) of life with love, brotherhood, and understanding.

In the last eight days the efforts of our Raza to offer their children a better opportunity for a quality education have been met with a resistance which is not becoming of men who have the responsibility of educating our children. These people, and we accuse the school board and superintendent ____________________ specifically, have tried to undermine the efforts of interested citizens by trying to compel and coerce many of our people to send their children to a segregated elementary school.

Furthermore, these people have tried to use many of our obligated brothers of Raza to carry out the message of resistance to the desegregation policies as set up by the Richard M. Nixon Administration. Seemingly coincidental incidents such as vandalization of School and the burning of the old Gymnasium have been used as gossip items to discredit our efforts.

We acknowledge the fact that in our search for a more rewarding humanistic and compassionate way of life we will have need for an education which provides the depth and introspection of self which will relate contemporary society, its good points and faults, to our culture and life goals. No longer will we be satisfied with an inferior education which causes many of our children to become dropouts by the time they are freshmen in high school. We say that the educational system is in fact an inefficient and inept structure, because if we use the analogy of the businesses (sic), we know that if a factory produces a product which is defective 90 percent of the time they would go bankrupt within a month. Yet, the school system in ________________ has proudly existed in this manner for over fifty years.

Today, we went to register our children in the place we felt had the best facilities and the better education. However, we realize that our presence,

> which was totally within the law, was met with resentment and undue harassment in trying to enroll our children in _______________ School. Although freedom-of-choice was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, the board of trustees and superintendent _______________ in fact support de jure segregation, which permits the existence of an all Mexican-American school.
>
> Furthermore, they deviously tried to intimidate many of us who went to _______________ to enroll our children into signing a statement which gave _______________ permission to return many of our children to _______________ if he so desires.
>
> The tactics that the Board of Trustees used were many, but they were used not to resolve a nagging problem but indeed to perpetuate a racist system which dates back to "separate but equal" education which was declared unconstitutional in 1954.
>
> We do not want _______________ school to shut down its doors, but to serve as a monument of racism which denied the Chicano student a change for a better education for too many years. We want people to recall the words of the maligned, former _______________ who stated, "This school hasn't changed much since I taught here. The students are still all Mexican-American." We want them to feel the shame that they could have the audacity of calling themselves Americans and yet permit the exploitation and oppression of a people who have more right than they to be the real American.

A second petition drafted by RUP leaders and appearing at the same time was more programmatic in nature and directed specifically to the school board. It included several value acts that were not dealt with in the petition quoted above. The RUP petition clarifies RUP expectations of the school board in meeting the perceived needs of Mexican-American students. These expectations are illustrated in the following list of demands.

The second petition asks that the following be implemented: (1) more Chicano teachers and a bilingual program; (2) a Chicano counselor to innovate programs that would reduce the high dropout rate; (3) school busing to "implement HEW directive of integration"; (4) the "right to negotiate the terms of the integration plan," and veto power of any such plans; (5) a free hot-lunch program for poor Chicano students; (6) a Mexican-American history course in high school; (7) Chicano students to be free from racial harassment; (8) a Chicano studies course related to culture, sociology, psychology, etc.

The latter petition carried a threat from RUP to sue the school district if desegregation was not hastily carried out. One interesting aspect of the confrontation between RUP and the school board which the petitions reveal is the manner in which the RUP leadership was skillfully brokering specific value-class acts within the context of local Mexicanos more general value of desegregated schools. That is, local Mexicanos agreed upon the value of schooling for their children, and specifically the act of desegregation. Yet, specific acts regarding the internal reorganization of that process were reportedly not part of the universe of meanings shared by many poorly educated Mexican-Americans. The exception was the RUP leadership unit, which was sufficiently astute to present a second petition with more precise recommendations for change. Evidently the leadership believed that the general Mexican-American populace agreed that education was the most available means to a productive economic career in the Anglo system and that they perceived the Anglo school as providing a more efficient educational process that needs to be shared. Further, both petitions carry the notion that the subordinate position of Mexican-Americans is a result of an exploitative and oppressive Anglo system and not any inherent genetic or cultural deficiencies. The school is believed to be the key mechanism used by Anglos to establish and maintain this oppressive system.

Although the next chapter is devoted to describing Anglo response to the Mexican-American threat, it is of interest in the present context to record the Board's response to these petitions. That is, the response will provide insight into the relative use of power by each unit and the degree control shifted, if any, as well as a number of important values and tactics used by Anglos to counter the tactics used by the RUP unit.

In response to the general democratic values communicated by the petitions, that is, the idea of being citizens and exerting majority control over a "public" institution, the board recorded its willingness to hear grievances from any interested citizens and acknowledged the right of petition is "one of those valued rights preserved to the citizens of this country by our constitution." However, the limited power and financial resources were listed as reasons why such complaints could not be met. Further, it was stated that any future requests should be accompanied by suggestions as to new sources of funds and personnel needed to implement new programs.

With reference to the specific RUP proposals the school board replied to each individually with a variety of rationales that consistently transmitted the board's belief about the structural conditions said to be limiting the board's actions. First, the board felt that integration had been implemented. Second, present teachers were under contract and these could not be broken. Additional teachers, especially Chicanos, were not available. With respect to bilingual education Texas law did not permit such instruction above sixth grade, but the trustees were sympathetic to the need for bilingualism and would "continue" to strive to introduce the program. Third, although not agreeing with the dropout figures presented by the Mexicanos, the board did agree that capable counselors were desirable. Yet, the board pointed out that dropouts were not as easily reduced as the petitions stated, but are related to family, social, legal, and economic problems. The board specified their willingness to work with all agencies of the locality in seeking a solution to the dropout problem. Fourth, the state policy was cited that stipulates that state funds could not be used to bus children residing within two miles of the school they attend and the district did not have funds to bus children. Fifth, the board stated it cannot legally give any group veto power in any decision it makes. Sixth, school hot lunches are already provided to children whose parents are on welfare for a nominal fee of ten cents, and the guidelines are set forth by the United States Department of Agriculture. Seventh, Mexican-American history could not be included in the high school curriculum because Texas laws already required what is considered a full curriculum. Mexican-American history is included in Texas history and United States history where it is relevant, but the present curriculum does not allow time for a course devoted strictly to this subject area nor is there a textbook available that has been approved by the State. Eighth, the board agreed that students should not be harassed in any manner because of ethnicity. School employees were requested to refrain from any such behavior.

The board's statement in reply to the petitions further sought to establish the fact that the trustees were working with the Texas Education Agency and the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in order to devise new methods and means for the continual improvement of local schooling for all the students.

The petitions and response provide a clear case of two conflicting belief systems attached to schooling. The school system is viewed by the Chicanos as an oppressive "structure" to be controlled and its content overhauled. To the existent board members the school system is a neutral, as opposed to oppressive, "organization" that one can effectively manage to use if so desired. The school board was unwilling to concede that the school had been a factor in Mexican-American subordination. It is evident that the board's skill authority was far more efficient in maintaining control during this confrontation event than that of the petitioners. However, at the same time it is noteworthy that there were concessions made to the petitioners. The general tenor of the reply was not antagonistic but conciliatory. The most obvious explanation for the board's inability to solve many of the grievances was their lack of control over the curricular programs, as well as lack of financial resources for further expansion. (The Mexicano's petitions spawned several counter petitions from Anglos in South Town, but this will be recounted in the next chapter.)

In 1972 Chicanos presented another petition to the school board. Two years later the demands were very similar and indicates RUP's perception of a lack of change following the earlier petitions.

Dear Sirs,

In your official capacity we request that you call an emergency session of the School Board to discuss the following demands and grievances. The reason we ask for a special session is that an agenda on these items would take a considerable amount of time and that a special session would be necessary to cover these items. What follows is a list of our demands and grievances.

1. We want Chicano studies.
2. Mexican-American teachers, who better understand our culture.
3. A total elimination of the Dress-Code.
4. More variety of courses.
5. We want September 16th observed as a holiday, it's Mexico's Independence Day from Spain.
6. Students should not be subjected to verbal abuse.
7. No teacher will lecture a student in class; we want a lecture room to go to if we're to get lectures.
8. We want Cinco de Mayo as a holiday.
9. We want a gymnastic program in school.
10. We want a Mexican-American counselor who can advise us and encourage students to go to college.
11. No docking of points as a form of discipline.
12. Bilingual and bicultural education.
13. We want better lunchroom facilities.
14. We want student representatives on the School Board.
15. Better washrooms.
16. We want to bring speakers of our choice to school.

We would appreciate a reply prior to May 28th on your ability to meet such a date.

The effect of the continued mobilization and its pressure on the school board contributed to many innovations between 1970-1972. First, in 1970 the board did allow September 16th and May 5th to function as school holidays. However, the following year they were withdrawn because students "did not plan for them." This initiated the request found in the petition of 1972. (These holidays have not been reinstated during the field work period. Second, local RUP leaders received a promise from the high school counselor that Mexican-American students would be given every opportunity to attend college. The counselor admitted that Mexican-Americans had not been given such consideration in the past due to the traditional notion that they were not interested in college. Third, a number of administrators and teachers who were defined by local "movement" Mexicanos as racist have retired or have been replaced. A local Mexicano product was appointed as the new high school principal. Although not a "Chicano" he functioned as an adequate compromise. Fourth, a Mexican-American studies course was introduced during the 1972-197 school year. Chicanos were not pleased with the Anglo teacher, but the fact that she was a non-local and a Nun seemed to decrease the hostile reaction somewhat. Fifth, the school system has a new cafeteria and gymnasium. As mentioned in the first petition of 1970, the old gym mysteriously burned following an argument between Anglos and Raza Unida members concerning its use.

It seems clear that there was a direct correlation between the Chicano mobilization efforts and the changes which occurred in the school board, new school administration, some new faculty, new buildings and remodeling of the old, and the introduction of new curricular programs. Since most of these changes emanate from the school board a brief description is in order to indicate the pervasiveness of the change.

The school board that historically dominated the school system was described in chapter three. Historically, the board was dominated by one Anglo businessman. In 1970, because of ill health, this gentleman asked a young Anglo rancher to run for the school board and take up the leadership he felt that it needed. The young rancher was joined on the school board by his father-in-law (also a leading rancher), another Anglo rancher, an Anglo businessman, and two Raza Unida members of the entrepreneurial type. A review of the board minutes from 1970 through August 1972 reveals that the young Anglo rancher was very intelligent and innovative. However, he resigned in August, 1972, when the board refused to share his belief concerning the school's milk contract. The minutes are full of his motions regarding board policies and confrontation tactics. His resignation was followed by that of his father-in-law. In each case Anglo newcomers were appointed in an effort to keep the former influentials from regaining control.

Since 1970 the school board has been characterized by the dominance of Mexican-Americans and Anglo newcomers. The absence of a dominant leader is a strong contrast to the board's past. The resignation of the dominant Anglo businessman in 1969 and the construction of a new board is correlated with the resignation of the previous superintendent, who had worked intimately with the former Anglo board chairman. Thus, a new superintendent was brought in with the idea that the school system needed innovation. At the same time several Anglo administrators resigned and at least one did not have his contract renewed. One of these administrators was from an "old South Town family" and had served the school system for many years. It was explained to the analyst that previous to the Chicano "movement" his authority in the high school was unquestioned by the students. After the movement was initiated the Chicano students began to question his authority and often treated him with disrespect. His self-image was shaken and led to his decision to retire. Several of the older teachers relate the same kind of process in reaching their decision to retire or leave. One teacher related that when the new board was elected and the old superintendent was "forced" into retirement, the older teachers shared the belief that they were no longer wanted. This particular teacher claims that such a belief stems from a rumor emanating from the new board as a tactic to induce older teachers to retire and thereby not force the board to act in a manner that would elicit local hostilities.

Although the new era of school board leadership in 1970-1972 can be characterized as "innovative," in contrast to the previous period, the conflict with the local Chicano movement was not ended. During the city and school board elections of 1972 the administration had to request local law enforcement officials to patrol the halls of the high school. Each confrontation between the Chicano units and Anglo elicits hostile student behavior. One teacher mentioned that during these periods students wereparticularly hard to control--they slammed their books down extremely hard, pulled the window curtains so that they recoiled with an explosive effect, and exhibited a generally irritable mood. One Anglo teacher had a newly planted yard torn up by vandals which Anglos believed was done by some of the Chicanos.

In the Spring of 1972 the high school ritual of the graduation dance also reflected the ethnic boundaries developing in South Town. Several Chicanos reportedly viewed the dance as too Anglo oriented and attempted to create a specifically "Mexicano" celebration. At first the Chicanos tried to gain control over the planning of the ceremony, but when this failed they held a separate graduation dance.

Preceding the 1973-1974 school year the school district hired a number of teacher aides. Most of these aides were Mexican-Americans and included a number of Chicano members. The budget for this program was set at the State level and many of these aides were not re-employed for the following year. However, local Chicano units believed the act of cutting aides was a vindictive act by the school board directed specifically at the movement.

The period of field work, July through November, 1973, was relatively quiet. During the fall several Chicanos asked the school board for permission to use the football field on Sundays. This was granted with the stipulation that no drinking, or other related activities, be allowed on school property and that they must respect this policy to which Chicanos agreed. Many of the board members believe the Chicanos were shocked when they received permission to use the field. However, the board seemed to be operating on the premise that accommodation is the best policy unless the issue is crucial to what members perceive as an important loss of control.

The election of April 1973 resulted in the defeat of all Raza Unida party candidates for city council and school board. There were 1,639 votes cast in the school board election and the non-RUP candidates beat their opponents by a two to one margin. The late night counting and reporting of the city election results resulted in a physical confrontation between Chicanos and Anglo law enforcement officials at the county courthouse. This resulted in the arrest of the local RUP leader. The contested election procedures illustrate the intensity of emotions and diverse interpretations that characterize elections in South Town.

It is the right of the mayor to appoint the election judge. Since the mayor during the Spring of 1973 was a Raza Unida member he appointed one of his colleagues to act as election judge. He had first appointed the man who has been the strategist behind the local mobilization and who was finally arrested. But since this man was also a candidate for office, Courthouse officials contacted the Texas Secretary of State and this was ruled unconstitutional. Another Raza Unida member was appointed to the position. Traditionally the county clerk sets up tables for voting purposes, as opposed to booths. The reason given for this practice is to discourage the practice of taking marked ballots or notes into the voting area. This was explained as a habit used by more nervous illiterates. The County Judge can set the time but the Commissioners Court had earlier voted to open the poll at eight a.m. and close at seven p.m., the latter being a state law. However, the election judge opened at seven a.m. and voting started by seven-fifteen. At seven p.m. the Chicano election judge refused to close the poll and allowed the voting to continue until seven-fifteen p.m. During the voting process the election judge was not supposed to leave the voting area, but when he does the polls close. It so happened that the election judge was frequently gone during the day. As one juror stated, "he was walking in and out all day." The purpose of his leaving was to walk across the street to the Housing Authority office where other Raza members were gathered. In this group he would seek advice and drink coffee. This process was reported by other informants to have been a hardship on voters who had to wait for hours in order to vote. Many persons mentioned having elderly parents who could not stand in line for any length of time and no chairs were provided. Consequently, hostility was intensifying during the day.

When the poll closed a crowd gathered to await the results. Supposedly only election officials are permitted in the room during the counting of the ballots. However, the RUP leader attempted to communicate with his colleague in the tabulating room and someone in the room gave orders to shut the door. The county clerk was standing by the door with the RUP leader when the order was given and took it as a command he was supposed to follow. When he shut the door the RUP leader's foot was shoved, causing him to lose balance momentarily. He angrily walked through the back corridor and slammed open the two large swinging glass doors, hitting several Anglos who took this action personally. A scuffle ensued and several law enforcement officials became involved. Some say the RUP leader struck one of the law enforcement officials. Others say that the law enforcement official attempted to draw his gun, only to be restrained by another. Nonetheless, whatever happened in those moments of anger, the result was chaos. There was reportedly a great deal of shouting (some cursing) between Anglos and Chicanos. Anglo officials who were in the Courthouse reported that Chicanos started throwing rocks and that a number of windows were broken. The RUP leader was arrested and charged with inciting a riot and assaulting a police officer. The first charge was dropped and he was given a two year probated sentence for the latter charge. At the time of writing the RUP leader was planning an appeal.

A concomitant post-election 1973 confrontation act was the RUP boycott against local businessmen. According to the newspaper, Nosotros: El Pueblo, (April 30, 1973) the boycott was designed to accomplish what other tactics had been unable to do, namely, bring the Anglo superordinates to the bargaining table ready to accept some Chicano proposals for change. The article stated that 500 members of

Raza Unida had decided to boycott selected businesses who opposed the movement. First, a beer distributor was to be boycotted because he had been a "vendido" and "has never done anything for his own race." The same issue of Nosotros mentioned that the boycott had worked so effectively that the beer distributorship was now up for sale to a Mexican-American. The Party was hoping to buy the business and use the profits for the "movement," thereby developing a source of power independent from the Anglos. The second category of businesses to be placed off-limits included three Mexican-American entrepreneurs who had been politically active in opposition to the Party. The rhetoric of the newspaper article indicates that they had not helped the poor, which is a synonym for vendido. Lastly, two Anglo businesses were included because their owners were considered to be racist and living off the poor Mexicano consumer. However, none of the entrepreneurs reported any adverse effects of the newspaper call for a boycott.

In spite of the attempted boycott, South Town's Chicano mobilization efforts seem to be waning during the period of field work. The number of members in the unit was, at the most, several dozen. In an election the leaders felt they could count on approximately five or six-hundred votes. RUP members still occupied the Mayor's office, one seat on the County Commissioners Court, and the Public Housing Authority--which is an appointment made by the mayor. The major issue reportedly dividing the RUP leaders from the majority of the local Mexican-Americans is the former's insistence on abrasive methods. Although an undeniable anti-Anglo hostility is shared by South Town Mexican-Americans, it appears that RUP's methods for mobilizing this sentiment have not been effective. This inability to develop saleable methods has been further undermined by a reported inability to maintain a reputation for honesty and integrity in managing its elected offices. Chicano leaders maintain that their tarnished reputation is a result of Anglo and "vendido" rumors.[2]

A recent example of the problems faced by Raza Unida leaders is communicating and/or maintaining a reputation for "honesty" occurred during the reorganization of the City Council control over city services. It was reported that one of the Raza Unida Party city officials had been using city gasoline for his own personal use and the administration of the city's employees was not being carried out efficiently. In the new organization each of the City's departments (streets, parks, garbage, water, gas, sewer) was assigned to a particular councilman who was to be responsible for its operation.

Summary and Interpretation: North and South Town Mexican-American Mobilization

There are several differences between the Mexicano mobilizing units of North Town and South Town. First, they were different in terms of generation and social position. North Town's unit was comprised of entrepreneurs in their middle ages. This unit exhibited most of the characteristics valued by an Anglo society. They were hard working, financially successful, and exhibited such symbolic features as nice cars, homes, and families. On the other hand, the South Town unit was comprised of a young, college age persons, who did not seem to work hard and exhibited what Anglos believed to be deviant features--long hair, mod clothes, beards, and Chicano symbols. The latter did drive nice cars but their lack of work in the local area caused Anglos to be increasingly suspicious of their motives for mobilizing local Mexicanos. Second, North Town's mobilizing unit operated as an indigenous movement relative to South Town's Raza Unida Party. Although Ciudadanos had informal interactions with RUP members out of Crystal City, as most Mexicanos in South Texas did, they adamantly believed in controlling their own destiny. On the other hand, South County's RUP was a conscious expression of the Crystal City Chicano apparatus. Third, but less significant, is the fact that South Town's mobilization had a slightly longer career history. That is, the informal consensus unit (RUP) had been operating on the local scene longer than Ciudadanos. RUP began to operate in South Town in 1969 and 1970. It was not until November of 1972 that North Town Mexicanos decided to set up an informal operating unit.

Probably the most significant difference between the RUP in South Town and the Ciudadanos of North Town is the way each used different acts, including rhetoric, to maximize the value of Mexicano control over school boards and other governmental mechanisms. RUP members used rhetoric that honestly exhibited their intense hatred of the Anglos. Ciudadanos members modified their Anglo hostility to emphasize what they believed to be the more positive notion that it's in the best American tradition for Mexicanos to accept the responsibility for public governance--positive in the sense that it seemed more successful. In the early period of the investigation the analyst believed that Ciudadanos and RUP members differed in their perceptions of the Anglo. However, with time and further examination of the data this does not seem to be true. Both share tremendous anti-Anglo sentiments and the cultural beliefs associated with Anglo oppression recorded earlier. The difference revolved around the unit's assessment of the

Anglos' power, or cultural potential, to control their environment. In this sense Ciudadanos were more economically and socially vulnerable to Anglo control than RUP members. An example of this is the way in which a Mexicano board member was neutralized by Anglo economic power. Thus, it is obvious that the difference in rhetoric and other acts, such as the physical violence which occurred at the South County courthouse the night of the 1973 elections, reveals a difference in what each unit believes about its own potential as well as its opposition. The next section will demonstrate that South Town Anglos attempted in a variety of ways to exert control over the RUP members in South Town, to little or no avail.

It is of special significance to note that the control of schools plays a key role in both mobilizing unit's attempts to maximize Mexicano control over the environment. The positions of school leadership became valued objects in the confrontation. Both units shared the ideas associated with the need for a Mexicano school environment which would meet the cultural needs of the Mexicano student in developing a more positive self-image, which would lead to a more concerted effort to transmit knowledge and skills that would enhance the Mexicano's social mobility. Ultimately the control of schools was attached to the general value of Mexicano control of the environment. That is, schooling was perceived to be the most effective route to achieving future skill power equality with the Anglo, which in turn could be translated into social power and control over the physical and social environment. Thus, Anglo dominance would be broken.

In both towns the Mexicano mobilizing units have had minimal effect upon schooling. South Town school leadership and concomitant changes in the administration and curriculum changed more dramatically than North Town. South Town's school board was comprised of a majority of Mexicanos, there was a new Mexicano high school principal, and a new Chicanos' studies course. Meanwhile, North Town school leadership has lost some of its Mexicano members.[3] There were several Mexican-American administrators but other aspects of the system remained unchanged. North Town Anglos can be characterized by their adament refusal to make any concessions to the Mexicanos. To use a colloquial expression, "come hell or high water" the North Town power elites were not willing to consider any significant change or accommodation to the Mexicano challengers.

With this background the following section examines the response of South Town Anglos in greater detail than heretofore attempted. Although South Town Anglos share some of the value-classes and associated acts with North Town Anglos there are also some very interesting differences.

Anglo Response to Mexican-American Mobilization in South Town

Whereas North Town was characterized by sharp ethnic boundaries with regard to political controls, competition in South Town led to a coalition between Mexican-American entrepreneurs and Anglos. This was not so much the result of Anglo efforts to compromise some of their control as it was the abrasive and intimidating behavior of RUP members toward their fellow Mexicanos, as described earlier.

Anglo response to the Chicano mobilization seemed to be characterized by two periods of response. The early period, from the mid-1960's to 1972, can be basically conceptualized as one of Anglo paralysis. The second, from 1972 to the end of 1973, as a period of Anglo mobilization and co-optation. Each of these will be discussed in greater detail in the following narrative.

The Early Period: Anglo Paralysis

As mentioned earlier South Town was chosen by Crystal City Chicanos as a second site in extending the mobilization. The Raza Unida Party (RUP) was organized in South Town by a youthful unit, indigenous to the locale, that was able to capture the mayor's position in 1970. South Town Anglos were reportedly quite shocked by RUP's successful mobilization and are quite critical of the first RUP Mayor. This young man was criticized for helping to broker the Health, Education and Welfare Department's power down on South Town Anglos for conducting segregated schools. The RUP Mayor reportedly used City stationery to lodge the complaint without approval from the city council. Anglos cite this act as a "typical" Mexicano's misuse of power and responsibility. Yet a number of Anglos expressed cautious good words about the first Chicano Mayor (who has since left town)--he was believed to have had the general interest of the local citizenry in mind and was considered to be fairly smart.[4]

Anglos had a difficult time accounting for RUP's financial resources. Most of the youthful RUP leaders did not seem to have regular work in the traditional sense, which led to a great deal of speculation. Some Anglos believed that the Ford Foundation was funding the local and regional movement and some that the Kennedy Foundation was responsible. These informants believed that the Kennedy family was using the funding in order to build a stronger national political base for future elections. This notion was probably stimulated by the knowledge that one RUP leader had received a Robert F. Kennedy scholarship.

Another incident which fueled the "national political conspiracy" idea revolves around the abortive efforts of a leading rancher to find the source. According to this Anglo rancher the local RUP members were too dumb to have accomplished the mobilization alone. He made contact with a former schoolmate who was visiting South Town for the purpose of consulting with the RUP members. The rancher asked the former schoolmate, who claimed to be working for the Illinois State Migrant Council, to allow him access to his superiors. The man refused and thus contributed to the notion of a national conspiracy.

The belief that the local Chicano mobilization was related to an international Communist conspiracy was also entertained by a number of Anglos. As in the case of North Town Anglos it was not that local Mexicanos were Communistic, but that their leaders were being used by Communist forces. One Anglo rancher related that he was in Cuba buying cattle prior to the Castro regime take-over and found the same patterns of activity. In Cuba he found ranchers believing that the revolutionary forces were not serious. In fact, one rancher found his basement full of molotov cocktails and still kept saying that there was nothing to be alarmed over. The Anglo rancher believed that Anglos in South Town responded in the same manner, undisturbed and lethargic. Other Anglos pointed out to the analyst that the tactics were similar to those found in Communist countries. The slogans were reportedly full of hate and divisiveness, the gym was burned after RUP leaders warned locals that it should be removed, and one of the local Mexicanos was slapped around in the pool room. It is further believed that the burning of the gym was caused by a bomb and that this event was used by RUP leaders to intimidate local Mexicanos and to force their compliance with the mobilization movement.

Regardless of how Anglos accounted for the RUP mobilization of the local Mexicanos, socially and financially, a significant number believed that the mobilization would not have been possible if Anglos had shared local governance in the past. The analyst found the preceding idea to be shared by a significant number of Anglo ranchers and businessmen. However, since the period of investigation was three years after the initial RUP capture of the mayor's office these particular Anglo beliefs may not reflect earlier Anglo cognitive responses.

There still exists, among other Anglos, the notion that Mexican-Americans have no right to share local governance. This idea is supported, or rationalized, by using all of the traditional cultural features regarding Mexicanos delineated in chapter three. However, this has been enlarged to include the belief that "Mexicans don't pay taxes, so why should they have any say in where our money goes!" The general idea that Mexicans had no business in local governance usually emerged in the context of discussing the Mexican-American mobilization and its antecedents. Some blamed the loss of the poll tax, which had formerly been a mechanism functioning to prevent local Mexicanos from voting. The recent registration procedures are believed by these Anglos to provide ample opportunity for Mexicans to cheat. Cheating in this context means voting twice, felons and aliens voting, and so forth.

Another rationale shared by Anglos in accounting for the local Mexicano mobilization relates to the negative influences of higher education. The fact that most of the youthful RUP unit had been to college led local Anglos to place some of the blame on that environment. Many local Anglos, and some Mexicano entrepreneurs, share the notion that college professors contribute to producing dissenters and hostile activists. This idea is further fueled by the recent campus riots across the nation in the late 1960's. It is difficult for local Anglos to understand how a "fine" young man can leave the locality for college and come back so changed, so full of "hate." One school leader, whose family is very influential, went to great lengths to describe the experience she had with a recent Mexican-American male high school graduate. According to the informant this young man had exemplified all of the best attributes the locale cherishes--humility, kindness, respect for others, and a belief in personal achievement. He went off to college and returned in the Fall for a weekend visit. The informant ran into the young man at the local Friday night football game and found him to be overtly hostile and belligerent. The informant attempted to visit with the young man to see what had happened, but to no avail, and subsequently calculated that he was possessed by a great deal of hate for the Anglos and was getting involved in the Chicano movement. The school leader expressed an inability to comprehend what had happened.

Most discussions with South Town Anglos regarding the historical antecedents of the Mexicano mobilization and the presence of RUP eventually lead to blaming the VISTAs (Volunteers In Service to America), whose importance was noted in the introduction of the threat-response narrative of chapter four.) Anglos placed a great deal of blame for the local ethnic conflict on the VISTAs. It is believed that Anglo-Mexican-American relations were fine until the VISTAs "stirred things up." Several stated that "VISTAs planted in the minds of local Mexicans the idea that they should have all the benefits that Anglos manifest without having to work for it." The Mexican-Americans' increased interest in the city council and schools is viewed as a result of VISTA's encouraging Mexican-Americans to politically organize. Evidently, according to Anglos, Mexicans were led to believe that the city treasury was being "hoarded" by Anglos for enhancing their section of town and that Mexicanos could reallocate these funds in order to pave their own streets, add street lights, and so forth. But, "they got in there and found out that there was just enough money to roughly maintain the town and not a pot of gold to play with." Concomitantly, it is believed that the VISTAs brokered the notion that the schools were being used to maintain Anglo power and the subsequent ethnic boundary lines. They reportedly helped the first Mexicano Mayor bring in the Health, Education and Welfare Department. The VISTAs were young and according to some Anglos had a decided effect upon the young Mexican-Americans, who became the RUP leaders.[5]

The fact that the VISTAs were Anglos and yet held different perceptions of the local ethnic organization was an initial shock to local Anglos. This is further illustration of how ontological culture can become. However, local Anglos rationalized VISTAs' different beliefs by referring to their innate social and cultural inferiority. That is, VISTAs were labeled as dirty and immoral. The dirty label is a result of sloppy dress habits, lack of personal hygiene and adequate grooming habits from the point of view of local standards. The immorality label is a result of believed sexual promiscuity. It is rumored that several VISTA females were sent home early due to premarital pregnancy. Most important was the Anglos' charge that the VISTAs were "trained agitators." Yet, Anglos were not clear as to who was responsible for the "training." Nevertheless, since VISTAs were viewed as dirty, immoral, and trained agitators, their perceptions of the local ethnic relations were not valid, according to local Anglos.

The VISTAs became such a "burr under the saddle" of local Anglos that derivative power was called upon in order to remove them. One informant stated that he used his life-long friendship with former Governor John Connally to seek state and federal power to get rid of the VISTAs. The Anglo County Judge stated that he personally called the Governor of Texas in the late 1960's. He stated that the Governor pleaded with him to accommodate to the VISTAs, but he retorted that there "was no way this could be done." He reported that he had tried to work "with these kids" for months and to no avail. The Governor reportedly joined John Connally in helping to remove South Town's VISTAs.

South Town Anglos generally agree that the local RUP mobilization has had some positive effect. Namely, it created citizen interest in local politics. Previously local governance was in the hands of a small unit of Anglos. This phenomenon was manifested in the school board elections reported earlier. With the RUP mobilization all of the Anglo units and a significant number of Mexicanos have united to counter the challenge for control of the social environment, which has had the effect of "pulling" all the Anglos into the political process.

Even though various Anglos responded to the early RUP mobilization, such as the two influentials contacting the Governor and friend John Connally in order to remove the VISTAs, the period is relatively marked by Anglo inactivity, or paralysis. The Anglo rancher who likened the response to Castro's take-over in Cuba seems to be essentially accurate in his characterization, although the writer does not view the two movements as homologous. This means that local Anglos generally were somewhat shocked in accounting for the sudden change in Mexicans' behaviors and believe they failed to totally assess the potential seriousness of the challenge, or they believe they could possibly have prevented RUP from gaining "any" control. Thus, it appears that Anglos' reality and cultural potentials ascribed to RUP were inaccurate in the early stages. First, Anglos failed to evaluate their "real" ability to control the environment and furthermore, failed to do the same regarding the "potential" of the RUP. They failed to tactically organize an informal consensus unit comparable to the RUP unit, which would have enabled them to articulate at the same level of power. Rather, South Town Anglos continued to respond through fragmented operating units despite their beliefs that either Crystal City, a national political unit, or a Communist conspiracy, was responsible for the local change.

There are several ways this response pattern can be understood. First, it appears true that the traditional lack of greater power organization was carried over into the early confrontation. Anglos had never needed a greater power coordination in order to control the social environment and were unable to understand why the traditional mechanisms and concomitant boundaries would fail to succeed in this instance. This is a good example of cultural adaptation whereby a population constantly attempts to readjust to the environment, whether physical or social. The following discussion will show how this traditional power culture apparatus was believed to be inadequate and new ideas, or cultural features, were added in order to adaptively cope with the environment. Second, since the historical control mechanisms were always in the hands of a few Anglos and only a small number of persons exercised their power at the polls the majority did not understand its importance. The analyst contends that both of these phenomena operated together in shaping Anglo response in South Town.

The Late Period: Anglo Attempts to Mobilize

By 1972 RUP had experienced a split between the youthful leaders and the older Mexicano entrepreneurs. The details of this internal conflict were recorded earlier and related to a disagreement over tactics. By this time several Anglo ranchers and businessmen had reassessed the potential of RUP and compared this with local Anglo potential. It was their belief that traditional Anglo fragmentation did not yield sufficient power in order to control the environment against the challenge of the RUP unit. These Anglos decided to organize an informal consensus unit, which was subsequently called the Citizens for Better Government (hereafter referred to as the CBG).

The original organizers were five, and they made a list of other locals they believed were influential and yet shared their ideas about RUP as a disruptive conspiracy. This included a number of the Mexican-American entrepreneurs, some of whom had split with the RUP unit. Eleven Anglos and Mexicanos comprised the executive committee of the newly formed CBG. Approximately half of these were Mexicanos. The executive committee was in charge of local anti-RUP mobilization. According to some CBG informants the organization had a number of meetings and all was going well until the local County Sheriff died. The unit then fractured over who to support in that position. One unit wanted to support a young man who was fairly new to the area. Another unit wanted to back a local product. The CBG agreed to abide by the decision of the county Democratic committee, who came out in support of the new man. The original agreement broke down, however, and those supporting the local product decided to wage a write-in campaign, which was successful. This disagreement led one of the key Anglo organizers to resign from the CBG and caused what became an irreparable split. The CBG had several meetings in the Spring of 1973, but these were defined as abortive affairs. By the time the analyst started the investigation in the Summer of 1973 the CBG was defunct, although a few faded bumper stickers could still be seen around town.

The CBG was a clear attempt by a few key Anglos to provide an organizational unit whose composition would include "good" Mexican-Americans and Anglos working together. The "good" Mexican at this time was chiefly characterized by his, or her, refusal to support the RUP. The analyst should point out that this perception is consistent with the traditional cultural feature of seeing Mexicanos as good when they replicate Anglo ideas and behaviors. In the case of the CBG it is possible to conceptualize the inclusion of Mexican-American entrepreneurs as a good example of subtle co-optation of RUP's power sources. At the same time, from the Mexican entrepreneur's point of view, the CBG also provided the first time that Anglos had actively sought a political coalition with Mexicanos. How such an act is interpreted depends upon one's perspective. From the perspective of the RUP it was defined as co-optation, from that of the Mexican entrepreneurs and some Anglos it was a reasonable coalition. The analyst suspects that there were sufficient number of local Anglos who also believed the act to represent a co-optation.

It is significant, relative to North Town, that Mexican-Americans were equally represented on the CBG executive committee and not just involved as minority members. However, the question remains whether Mexican-Americans on the executive committee really exercised coordinate power and control or whether it was just "symbolic" in the sense that actual control had not changed hands and that there was only an illusion that the Mexicanos had it.

The analyst was interested to understand how Anglos felt about the fact that most of the Mexican-American entrepreneurs invited to "form a coalition" were former RUP members. Anglos tended to explain the Mexican entrepreneur's former relationship with RUP as one of ignorance and ethnic loyalty. Several mentioned that "they learned their lesson." Others said that loyalty to one's own race is a natural thing. The Mexican entrepreneurs were seen to be enlightened and courageous for taking the new stance.

The preceding discussion points out that Anglos believed RUP elites to be agents of a conspiracy, either fostered by a regional and state ethnic movement, by a national political attempt to increase social power or a communist conspiracy. This was further joined by the idea that RUP mobilizers were repulsive. That is, they either wore tee-shirts, no shirts, faded jeans, or exhibited a hirsute condition. Second, some believed RUP members were on dope and were selling it to local students. Third, the RUP elites were believed to be sexually promiscuous and an immoral influence on the local youth. Fourth, they were capable of doing physical harm to others. They were believed to be "violent boys." This was especially shared by a number of Anglo females, who spoke of how dangerous the town was since RUP was organized. These persons stated that one has to keep their doors locked now and that they were especially fearful when their husbands were out of town. The supposed "bombing" of the old gym is an act, and the near riot which occurred on election night of 1973, contributed to this idea. Fifth, RUP elites are compared to other "hoods" and are out to get what they can for free. Several examples were cited in support of this idea. There was the case of the first Mayor being run out of town for an alleged illegal act which was never specified. Then there was the case of the 1973 RUP Mayor reportedly caught using city gasoline and phones for his personal use. This Mayor was further accused of nepotism, an accusation also voiced by Mexicano informants. It appears that the Mayor, who also was in charge of the local EODC operation, was believed to be hiring members of his own kinship unit for public positions. Sixth, RUP members were believed to be "crooked" because they were thought to be using the EODC operation as a means of brokering their political power. That is, when a RUP EODC staff member helped someone it was believed that he brokered the idea that RUP was responsible for the assistance and not EODC. At the time of the analyst's departure from South Town the county judge and others were in the process of abolishing the EODC program because Anglos believed that EODC should be politically neutral. Seventh, RUP members were thought to be inept administrators and bureaucrats. There was the general belief among the Mexicano and Anglo opposition to RUP that the RUP Mayor was not able to run the City efficiently. In September 1973, the Council was reorganized in the Mayor's absence, reportedly as a means of achieving greater efficiency. The office of the City Superintendent was abolished in favor of five department heads, each of whom was directly responsible to a designated Council member.

This was supposed to create a more efficient management of city operations.

Anglo School Leaders' Response

It is of special significance that the local Mexican-American mobilization occurred at the same time there was a change in the school board, the administrative staff, teachers and curriculum. This is clearly revelatory of the fact that the total local ethnic confrontation phenomenon permeates all aspects of the locale's social institutions. The following discussion focuses on how school leadership responded and indicates their relationship with the larger social framework of South Town.

The analyst previously described the history of school board control by certain units of ranchers and businessmen, plus the relative dominance of locals in such leadership positions as administrators and teachers. It was further noted that the traditional Anglo school board was dominated by one Anglo businessman. This period of school leadership was generally conceptualized by South Town Anglos as a "care taker" era. Further, the era came to an end in 1970, when the RUP won two seats on the school board and the previous dominant Anglo resigned due to ill health. The two RUP members were joined by a third colleague in the Spring of 1972 as previously described. These RUP Mexicanos were local entrepreneurs who split with the Party and became part of the Anglo coalition. At the same time that the RUP entrepreneurial Mexicanos were occupying board positions, new Anglos were also being elected, thereby creating a new board. One of the previous ranchers continued occupying a seat on the board, but he tended to follow the leadership of the newer members. One Anglo stated that this person should have been removed also, since he did not have children in the system and didn't understand the problems of schools. The old traditional control was broken and a new leadership period inaugurated. The new board members shared the idea that the local school system needed drastic changes, although there was never consistent agreement on what this meant. One Anglo rancher tended to provide the leadership in this process. A new superintendent was hired and, as one Anglo said, the old one "was put out to pasture." Besides the new superintendent there were several new administrators and a number of the older teachers were retired or subtly forced out.

There was a general consensus that a new superintendent would introduce more innovative education. This does not mean that the new board conflicted with the old school board's idea of "economy" in regard to school spending, quite the contrary. Yet, the new board was willing to raise the tax rate to provide more local funds for upgrading the educational enterprise. The new board began to work harder to acquire state and federal funds for added programs or to enhance the present ones. A migrant school was built and is considered to be quite effective. Further, the old primary school on the east side of town (Mexican town) was renovated, other school buildings were painted and generally improved, and the local Anglos and Mexicanos felt that schools were improving. It is significant that some Anglos expressed the opinion that little had changed and that too many were only concerned with the physical appearance of the schools and not what was happening in the classrooms. Those who shared this notion tended to be "newcomers" to South Town.

Since the local school board is the chief policy maker and governing unit of the school system it is this unit that was directly challenged by the RUP unit. Following the aforementioned petitions submitted to the school board by RUP leaders in 1970 and 1972 the new school board hired an attorney who was a specialist in school law as their counselor. This action suggests that the board expected that continued conflict with RUP would take place, at least in part, in the legal area. In addition, the RUP petition of August 25, 1970, stimulated a counter petition by some Anglos which emphasized the following concerns: (1) that "responsible and intelligent suggestions" for solutions to the local school problems should be more "constructive than simply making demands such as the 10 grievances" presented by the RUP; (2) the elementary schools have been integrated but classes should not be because it penalizes both the advanced and the slow students; (3) the board should seek federal funds to implement the bilingual program for early childhood; (4) no teachers should be hired "merely because of national origin," nor "whose major goals are racism, demonstration, school disruption, or personal political gain"; (5) the board should provide proper counseling for all school children; (6) the board should "research the availability of federal programs and financial assistance in order to initiate a more complete busing system; (7) it is ridiculous to have a three-parent committee headed by the new RUP mayor to wield a veto power over the school board; (8) hot lunches are presently provided for poverty children and it is not economically feasible to serve all, but space should be provided inside and outside the school buildings for children who bring their lunch to eat; (9) since there is no official Mexican-American history course approved by the TEA, one should be implemented as soon as there is; (10) all children "should be free of harmful harassment and racist's remarks"; (11) that a more specific breakdown be made of what is meant by Chicano studies; and finally, (12) that board actions in the future be directed "toward a just and well-balanced educational program for all children" and not for "extremist groups whose motives are not in the best interests of all our children's education, but rather to further their own political and personal ambitions."

It is evident that non-RUP units supporting this particular petition believed that many of the former's proposals were highly unreasonable, especially direct RUP control through the use of a veto mechanism. At the same time, the petition seeks to work a compromise in such cases as curriculum. It is evident that these units strongly believed that the school should not favor either ethnic group.

Another petition was presented in 1970 by some Anglos who believed they were "minority" members also. The petition was presented as an attempt to show RUP how "ridiculous" their demands were perceived by others. The petition will be set forth in detail, for any attempt to extrapolate the salient points misses the hostile humor that is present in its literary style.

> Since it is obvious that within our govermental (sic) system a special consideration is being shown to the Third and Fourth Generation of Americans of "Ethnic Minorities," we the Third and Fourth Generation American (sic) of German decent (sic), "An Ethnic Minority," therefore see fit to demand the following grieviences (sic) to be enacted upon immediately by the ________________ Independent School District Board of Trustees.

1. It states in the United States Constitution that in our country an individual has the right to seek Justice and his Well-Being (sic) through due Process of Law (sic). We, therefore, demand anyone violating the freedom of any citizen of the United States to be punished to the fullest extent of the law.

2. We want English taught as the first language being this is the United States and (not any foreign country) (sic). But if bi-lingual programs are instituted in the school system, we demand they be optional, and that German be made available.

3. We want more German teachers hired comparable to the other Ethnic (sic) Minorities (sic) hired.

4. We want a German counselor to be hired full time so the German-American student may benefit from all the give away programs that are set up to help the Ethnic (sic) Minorities (sic).

5. We also ask that if any teacher in this system expresses his personal views politically or philosophically to their class that they refrain from doing so because their views might not agree with the childs (sic) parents (sic). Their purpose in the system is to teach children how to think, not what to think. To do otherwise would be grounds for dismissal. After all, we German-Americans have our own ideas.

6. We would normally request a German Holiday (sic). However, being citizens of Texas and the United States, we, therefore, would like to have as school holiday's, Texas Independence Day and San Jacinto Day. We feel we must give up our old country holidays and celebrate the holiday's (sic) of this country of which we are citizens.

7. We want a free Hot-Lunch (sic) Program for all children regardless of race, color, or creed. We feel people who work should not be penalized because of their desire to get ahead.

8. We want a course in German Education with the value of full credit to be offered in the High School, taught by a qualified German teacher (sic).

> 9. We want German food served in the cafeteria once a week.
>
> 10. It has also been brought to our attention that the contribution of the German-American to this society and culture has not been given proper recognition. Therefore, we also request that the text books be revised as well as the teaching methods in order to properly reflect our contributions to society.
>
> 11. We want our children taught that if they pay the price that is demanded by life, they will succeed in life in spite of the handicaps.
>
> 12. We feel that whereas we have less than 10 per cent (sic) of the students enrolled in the system, we should not be paying 30 per cent (sic) of the taxes, and, therefore, we demand that a more equable (sic) tax base be worked out.
>
> We would like to state that these complaints are not presented to disrupt the normal activity of the duly elected Trustees, nor will we write about the Trustees in our underground paper. However, being this is the United States it is important that we teach children something about obeying its laws so that they will, with God's Help (sic), become useful citizens to society. We humbly thank the Board in advance for its consideration.

The preceding petition was presented by a unit calling itself the "German Parent Teachers Association." This provides a clear example of many of the local Anglo cultural features attached to the local Mexicanos, that is, that they do not work (item 7), are always wanting something for nothing (item 12), and are not to be trusted (implicit in the last paragraph). Further, there is the pervasive idea that Mexican-Americans have been refusing to become part of the American society. It seems to be implicit in the petition that the Mexican-Americans' problems are a result of this latter factor. Thus, the German petitioners deride the notion of ethnic studies, teachers, and such related features.[7]

The new school board generally adopted the position, through the counsel of their attorney, to concede to those Mexicano demands which were "reasonable." Reasonable in this context meant that the demand was a rightful expectation of the school process, and legally substantiated. For example, a Mexican-American history course was provided as a response to a legitimate student desire. Again, the RUP leaders sought board permission in the Fall of 1973 to use the football field on Sunday afternoons. This was approved as long as the unit abided by the rules prohibiting alcoholic beverages on the school premises. In each case the board members attempted to refrain from responding in such a manner that would lead to a political confrontation, unless the issue was clearly in violation of law and the board could defend their position successfully.

Although the old school board has been described on numerous occasions little attention has been devoted to describing the response of administrators and teachers under the old regime. The analyst was able to talk with several who were still residing locally. These persons were able to substantiate the analyst's thesis that the school changes were a direct result of the local RUP mobilization of the Mexicanos. School leaders generally felt intimidated by the pressure. The board and the superintendent were not able to provide adequate protection from what other administrators and teachers felt to be undue harassment. One former school administrator spent a great deal of time relating his despair and feelings of personal injury from the Chicanos' personal intimidation. This man was raised in South Town and believed he had a "good relationship" with the local Mexican-American population--especially the students. Several of this man's friends told the analyst that his word had been sufficient to elicit student response prior to the mobilization. Yet, when the mobilization began it immediately spread to the student body, many of whom began to question his authority and right to govern as a principal. After the mobilization students would often ignore his command or threaten him to his face. He was unable to deal with this type of challenge and consequently retired. Some of the old teachers stated that they too were unable to deal with this type of disciplinary breakdown. Mexicano students would often talk back and dare the teacher to strike them, threatening them with a lawsuit, parental pressure, or RUP retaliation.

The new administration was composed of an Anglo superintendent, one Mexicano principal, and four Anglo principals.

However, during the Fall of 1973 the Anglo high school principal was replaced with a local Mexicano. This appointment was a further attempt to meet local Mexicano entrepreneurial and RUP demands for more ethnic representation. The former principal was disliked by both Anglos and Mexicanos. The Anglos were against him because they thought him too abrasive in his personality and too dictatorial in his administration. According to the principal he was disliked because he refused to allow certain Anglo families to manipulate him in order to gain advantages for their children in the school system. Several teachers supported his contention. According to these teachers the Anglo principal refused to apply the rules discriminately. Further, prior administrators had allowed certain key teachers direct access to the superintendent and then were highly favored in the old administration. In the new administration all teachers and staff were treated in an objective fashion. The high school principal applied the rules without any consideration for old time locals and this made them angry.

The new Mexican-American high school principal was well thought of by the students and received a standing ovation from the student body at the beginning of the first assembly. He was the son of a local cook and had worked his way through college and worked in the local school system for many years. Anglos took delight in pointing to this man as an example of what a Mexicano can do if he has the initiative.

Administrators, like those in North Town, attempted to maintain a neutral position in the local ethnic competition--at least overtly. Their survival was related to first, maintaining a good relationship with the superintendent, who would hopefully act as a buffer between the administrator and the school board; second, maintaining a network of informants throughout the locale; and third, acting toward students impartially so that neither ethnic sector could accuse them of racism. Often the relationship with the superintendent did not suffice. The Anglo high school principal described above illustrates this case. The superintendent attempted to defend the man, but the board had received so many complaints from local citizens that it would not renew his contract. The principal's failure apparently was in not setting up and maintaining a social network that would enable him to understand how he was being assessed by locals and adapting his behavior accordingly.

Administrators generally agreed with local Anglos in their perceptions of the RUP's mobilization efforts. Some agreed with the idea that the mobilization was part of a conspiracy, either by regional Chicanos or Communists. Others believed it to be a justified attempt by young, idealistic, Mexican-American youth to help Mexican-Americans in general. Yet, there was also the relevant belief among some that even though the cause might be just, the methods are wrong. Teachers also tended to fall into this dichotomy.

The beliefs held by administrators and teachers were clearly informed by the length of time in residence and ethnicity. Mexicano administrators and teachers generally shared the local Mexicano culture regarding Anglos, but with significant differences. That is, Mexicano school personnel emphasized that a Mexicano can beat the Anglo system if he, or she, would study hard and achieve through the educational track, referring to themselves as examples. Locally raised Anglo school leaders differed from newcomers in their beliefs about the RUP mobilization. As indicated in Chapter Three, local Anglo school leaders shared all the local Anglo cultural features attached to being Mexican-American, including the belief that mixing ethnic sectors in classes has a retarding effect on the academic process. Thus the RUP mobilization and its demands upon the schools was believed to be potentially weakening of academic standards. This is further supplemented, or undergirded, with the notion that the Mexican-American child is not able or willing to learn. Thus, these particular persons do not indulge in discussing new teaching methods or curricular designs. On the other hand, non-locals were prone to push the idea of new teaching methods and new curriculum. The analyst observed several of these discussions in the local high school and found it significant that teachers who appeared to be more progressive were the newcomers, or non-locals.

Non-local school leaders mentioned on several occasions that although the local Anglos do not publicly express anti-Mexicano attitudes, that at private parties such sentiments are frequently expressed--especially after everyone has had a few drinks.[8]

Summary and Interpretation

Briefly, there were a number of significant differences between the mobilizing units of North Town and South Town. First, North Town's Ciudadanos were comprised of older Mexicanos, who were entrepreneurs. South Town's RUP elites were youthful and supported basically through local government programs or scholarships. Second, North Town's movement was relatively indigenous, whereas South Town's was an extension of the regional forces. Third, South Town's RUP had a longer political career history than North Town's Ciudadanos. South Town's RUP was initiated in 1969-1970 and North Town's Ciudadanos in the closing months of 1972. Fourth, each shared a different cultural potential regarding the ability of the Anglos to use greater amounts of power in the confrontation. North Town Ciudadanos felt that local BGL Anglos had a superior power position relative to their own. On the other hand, South Town RUP leaders believed their cultural potential was superior via the ability to mobilize Mexicano votes. The writer posited this phenomenon as the reason for RUP's more separatist, or polarizing, rhetoric and overt behavior. Fifth, although both mobilizing units shared a set of cultural features regarding local Anglo domination the fact that Anglos differed in their ability to control their environment was seen to account for the discontinuity in valued acts attached to attempts to maximize control over the city council and the school board.

The analyst noted that the control of schools was believed by both mobilizing units as a valued "object" in the environment. The control of schools was believed necessary to invert the traditional power relations between ethnic sectors. Schools represented one of the most viable mechanisms to greater social and economic achievement. Through schooling a person was believed to acquire the necessary skills for key social, political, and economic positions, which have heretofore been used against the Mexicanos. Historically Mexicanos had watched Anglos use schools as a means of projecting their young into these valued power positions and at the same time maintain ethnic boundaries which prevented Mexicanos from utilizing the same source. This was believed by Ciudadanos and RUP leaders, as well as other Mexicanos, to be an example of traditional Anglo tactics to maintain and enhance their superior power position. While the RUP elites moved from the beginning to acquire control of the school board in order to remove administrators and teachers they thought were responsible for Mexicano low educational achievement, North Town's Ciudadanos were late in coming to this same idea. The RUP elites, and followers, shared the notion that the relatively low educational achievement of Mexicano students was reflected in such indices as a high "push-out" rate, social domination of schools by Anglos, low achievement profiles of Mexicano students relative to Anglos, and a general negative self-image of Mexicano students. Further, in order to neutralize what RUP believed to be culturally destructive effects of an Anglo curriculum upon Mexicanos they brokered the idea of Chicano studies. Again, North Town Ciudadanos were relatively late in coming to an acceptance of these particular ideas, but the Anglos' response was helpful in the process.

South Town Anglo response patterns and concomitant results were significantly different than those of North

Town's. Relative to North Town, South Town Anglos were unable to operate successfully at the informal power unit level. This was true even though South Town Anglos shared the cultural features attached to Mexicanos and Chicanos so prevalent among North Town Anglos. Thus, South Town Anglos were not able to totally defeat RUP mobilization as they desired, either in the latter's challenge for school board or City Council seats. The continued control of the school board by an Anglo-oriented culture has been due to RUP's relative inability to control the Mexican-American entrepreneurs and not Anglo power. Therefore, the coalition of Anglos and key Mexican-American entrepreneurs has been an accommodation-coalition necessitated by the inability of Anglos to organize successfully.

The coalition in South Town is responsible for the accommodationists' attitude of the school board in the operation of local schools. School administrators and teachers who seem to understand the Mexican-American culture have been chosen primarily to provide Mexicanos a more comfortable environment. The introduction of a Mexican history course reflects an important curricular change attached to this value. Yet, in both towns school leaders are characterized by similar attempts to survive in the local school system. The superintendent is the most vulnerable to local notions regarding ethnic politics.

In North Town the superintendent attempted to play a neutral role but the boundary mechanisms would not allow this and he sided with the Anglo power unit. It is expected that this man will be dismissed if Ciudadanos acquire control of the board. The superintendent in South Town lost his job at the outset of the mobilization and the new superintendent was working under a new, coalition board.

Other administrators and teachers heavily rely on the superintendent for their survival. The change in school board and superintendent in South Town also resulted in significant changes in other administrative and teaching positions. The new superintendent is conceived as a "strong" administrator and this may account for the fact that South Town teachers have not attempted to organize a local TCTA chapter, as did North Town teachers. It was noted that North Town teachers believe the superintendent to be "weak." Therefore, other mechanisms are sought for survival purposes. Among the alternatives the most viable are either to do such an excellent job of teaching or administrating in an impartial manner and/or to establish a network of local informants to keep one posted on the local social and political activities.

In both cases school leaders at the school board level reflected the locale's ethnic-political relationships. Further, professional school leaders, administrators and teachers, were systemically related. The latter's behavior reflected the local cultural milieu even though there was an idea that schools were not supposed to be involved in local politics.

FOOTNOTES

1. A more detailed analysis of a RUP Chicano oriented schooling process, including the perspective of historical and contemporary "oppression" in formal education is being developed by Foley, Lozano, and Smith (1972-1974).

2. Although not the subject of the present analysis, the role of rumors in the political process in South Town, both as a tactic and a cultural rationale for "problems" faced by Anglos' and Mexicanos alike deserves future consideration. Foley, Lozano, and Smith, have also reported complicated rumor patterns in community politics and within the school system in a town in the same region.

3. While writing this report the analyst learned that the Spring, 1974, elections in North Town resulted in Anglos regaining control of the school board. Further, the Mexican-American coach resigned and it was rumored that several Mexicano teachers were planning to leave at the end of the school year.

4. The analyst attempted to find out why the first Mayor left South Town. He is supposedly attending graduate school in the North. There seems to be some ambiguity regarding his departure. Several Mexicano informants stated he told them he was tired of the local struggle and wanted to further his education. Others said that he went to a better job. Some Anglos reported that he was caught having committed some illegal act as Mayor and agreed to leave town rather than face possible prosecution.

5. Follow-up on a few of the VISTAs who had worked in South Town suggests that there was more diversity among them than implied by Anglo descriptions. One female volunteer married a local Mexicano entrepreneur and has been fairly neutralized politically. Another finished law school and is chief legal counselor for the Crystal City RUP unit.

6. From the local South Town newspaper, September 28, 1973.

7. A similar approach was taken by a group called GAPA (German American Parents Association) in another

school district in the Winter Garden area in 1971, and there was a statewide meeting of GAPA held in Uvalde, which used the 1964 Civil Rights Act as the authority for requesting Federal education agencies investigate current developments in South Texas (personal communication with Walter Smith, 1974).

8. The author did not attempt to investigate these private dimensions of the culture of ethnic relations in South Town. The theoretical design focuses on those "public" features that are recognized and employed by actors in the local social structure as characterized by Adams and Barth.

CHAPTER VI

TOWARD A THEORY OF SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

The analyst stated in Chapter One that the purpose of the present investigation was to describe the history of, and conceptually account for, the development of an ethnic power struggle in which the control of schools plays a primary role. The focus was stated to center upon the way in which school control, through board members, administrators, and teaching faculty, has functioned (intentionally or unintentionally) to maintain the subordinate power positions of the Mexicanos and the effect upon school leaders of Mexican-American attempts to gain control of school boards in the last few years. It was noted that the cases would provide an adequate test for conceptualizing the school's relationship with the other segments of the social environment, that is, it is either a "closed" or "open" system. Further, the analysis proposed to use a number of new concepts premised upon their believed ability to greatly clarify the ethnography events.

The investigation of school leadership in two South Texas towns has revealed several major findings relevant to a theory of school leadership. First, that historically Anglos have dominated Mexican-Americans socially and culturally and that the agricultural economy has been the chief source of control. Second, the observed conflict between Anglos and Mexicanos for control of local schools and other sources of energy was a result not only of non-local (regional, state, federal) cultural and power brokerage which provided some Mexicanos with new cultural notions and energy sources for political confrontation, but of significant demographic changes. Third, and most importantly, schools have been perceived by both ethnic sectors as a basic local energy source to be used as power in controlling the local physical and social environment. Within the latter context school leaders "broker" the local power system, with all of the cultural baggage attached. Thus, the data demonstrates that the school system is "open", when conceptualized in the organizational terms used in the educational literature reviewed in the first Chapter, and that the local socio-cultural milieu acts as a system of constraints on school leaders. Another way of conceptualizing this relationship is related to power relations (Adams). If the local school district is viewed as a local power domain operating unit (which is the "professional" domain in a sense), it is "closed" to varying degrees relative to the specific characteristics of local control over the domain. That is, RUP is "closed" out of the school domain and wants in. In seeking sources of power for "getting into" the school domain the data demonstrates that "brokers" were used to "open" the school domain, to varying degrees. Further, these outside sources of derivative power, in combination with outside "cultural brokers" helped redefine the structural conditions, which led to a heightened political consciousness and, hence, mobilization. More importantly is the fact that when a socio-cultural change takes place in the locale a similar change will be reflected among the school leadership, as in the case of South Town.

The present Chapter will seek to discuss the major findings listed above in order to make a series of statements regarding the relationship between school leadership and their total environment. Hopefully this will contribute to a clarification of several issues previously noted as existing in the literature regarding local politics of educational leadership, such as, whether school systems are open or closed; what different school leaders "broker" in the school system, or the power relations existing between different leadership units; the way in which school resources are used by locals to enhance personal power positions in the larger system; how board members are chosen and why they choose to serve; and the way local conflict effects the relationship between local boards and administrators.

The analysis has also contributed to a number of social science interests. First, the investigation has demonstrated the utility of Barth's (1972) contention that ethnicity is constructed at the local level via organizationally relevant features and not by reference to a set of traditional traits or an idea of national origin. Second, the analysis has demonstrated the importance of Adams' (1970; 1972) conceptual apparatus in clarifying the dynamics of social conflict and change, especially the conceptual relationship between power and culture. Third, the study exhibited the importance of the ecological relationship, and the concomitant demographic aspects, in developing interethnic relationships.

In the following discussion the writer will also take the liberty to spectulate when feasible and to designate areas that seem to need further investigation.

Socio-Cultural Power Relations: Past and Present

The analysis noted that Anglo/Mexican-American power relations were established in the early settlement of the two counties. Anglos established control of the land for the development of an agricultural economy in which Mexicano labor played a primary role. This process quickly led to a pattern of ethnic separatism, the boundaries of which were sustained by a set of cultural features shared by both ethnic sectors.

The early Anglo settlement occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century and revolved around ranching and small, dry land, farming operations. By 1890 cotton had emerged as the dominant crop and demanded periodic intensive labor, such as hoeing and picking. This type of seasonal labor demand spawned the Anglo practice of contracting Mexican labor along the Mexican border to the South. Cotton farming increased in importance until it was wiped out by the boll-weevil in the 1920's. The twentieth century witnessed the development of ground water irrigation and a more diversified economy--onions, spinach, grains, peanuts, watermelons, to name a few. It was noted that although livestock gradually increased in importance in North County, it was always the primary production in South County. The depression, boll-weevils, lack of good water, and the fluctuating markets historically contributed to a tenuous agricultural economy which eventually became undergirded by federal funds.

There have been a number of mechanisms that Anglos have developed through the years that function to maintain their social separation from Mexican-Americans. First, spatial boundaries separated the two ethnic sectors along residential lines. Both locales have railroad tracks which traditionally have been understood to be the dividing line. Second, religious institutions have operated to maintain ethnic separatism. Anglos have historically been Protestant and Mexicanos Catholic. The Anglo Protestants have had a strong anti-Catholic bias which surfaced in the analysis with regard to the local Mexicano challenge to Anglo control. Third, the secular voluntary organizations, such as the Masonic lodge, Lions and Rotary clubs, Chamber of Commerce units, womens' clubs of various types, have traditionally excluded the Mexicano. Fourth, the chief entrepreneurial operations, such as banks, automobile dealers, and so forth, have been exclusively Anglo. The few exceptions have been small grocery stores operated by Mexicanos in the Mexican-American sector of town. Fifth, all of the local governance mechanisms have been traditionally occupied by Anglos, such as school boards, city council, county offices, and so forth. Sixth, all forms of social interaction have been so structured that inter-ethnic contact was reduced primarily to necessary economic functions. For example, seating in theatres and at public gatherings was segregated, dating was taboo between the young, and when sociations were engaged the Mexicano showed signs of deference. Seventh, schools have historically been socially and culturally controlled by Anglos--which will be more fully described later. Eighth, and most important, a subordinate labor role was associated with being Mexicano. Of all the mechanisms used to maintain ethnic differentiation, none has been as pervasive as this latter phenomenon. As was noted earlier, Mexicanos have historically been assigned the subordinate field labor roles and have worked for relatively low wages.

Anglos in both locales share a set of cultural features regarding Mexicanos and themselves which provide a rationale for their superordinate social power position. It might be noted that not every Anglo in both towns entertains all of the cultural features listed below. The following features are general ethno-graphically derived ideas that were found to be shared by a significant number of Anglos.

First, Anglos believed they were destined to settle the local region and develop its potential energy sources. This development was facilitated by a secularized Protestant work ethic which signaled the personal worth of a man and the inherent superiority of the Anglo culture. Further, Anglos believed they were genetically highly intelligent, which manifested itself in the ability to develop the land and the associated material comforts. There were a number of other ideas associated with the preceding notions that enhanced Anglos' general belief in their cultural superiority; namely, that they were law abiding, honest, financially responsible, good managers, taxpayers, trustworthy, clean, kind, not cruel to others, not clannish, nor jealous of others' achievements, and were not prone to engage in irresponsible sexual behavior that would lead to overpopulation.

Second, in contrast to what Anglos believed about themselves, Mexicanos were viewed as culturally and genetically inferior. This general set of ideas was substantiated by Anglos' perceptions of Mexicanos as "destined" for the subordinate labor role. The rationale for the Mexicans' subordinate labor status was further supported by the following ideas regarding Mexican-Americans: they are lazy, have no initiative, cannot handle money responsibly, are dishonest, lawbreakers, jealous of each others' achievements, cruel to each other, clannish, bound to the family, given to using physical force in settling disputes, untrustworthy, financially irresponsible, economic burden on Anglos, physically dirty, and sexually promiscuous, which leads to large families.

The analysis recorded that historically Mexicanos acquiesced the Anglos' cultural-power organizing system, which functioned to effectively maintain the power relations and the system of boundaries perviously described.

The investigation further noted that although the preceding socio-cultural system was traditionally maintained Anglos did specify categorical differences among Mexicans. First, there were the Mexican entrepreneaurs, or businessmen, who exhibited to Anglos a work orientation that closely approximated the latter's idea of good economic and social behavior. It is from this category of Mexicanos that Anglos chose Mexicano "representatives" to symbolically participate in local governance in an attempt to placate the Mexican-American population. Yet, there were two types of Mexicano entrepreneaurs, the good and the bad. The good were those that did not question the existing power relations and exhibited subordinate behavior when in the presence of Anglos, that is, such behaviors as downcast eyes, excessive amount of smiling, agreeability, humbleness, and so forth. By contrast, the Mexicano entrepreneaurs considered bad displayed more aggressive behavior, such as forceful speech, willingness to disagree, strong eye contact, lack of smile, and general lack of humility. Second, the rest of the locals were divided into the annual migrants and the welfare recipients. The migrants are different in that they exhibit some degree of initiative and work orientation, while the "stay-at-homers" generally live off of welfare. The latter could work locally but they usually ask for too high wages. Anglos believe that welfare programs contribute to Mexicano economic stagnation. The programs stifle individual initiative by giving a person enough to exist without the discomfort that would stimulate work activity. Third, there are the Wets, or Juan Tonks, who are believed to be better workers than the locals, but are transients and therefore undependable.

One way to conceptualize the historical relationship between Anglos and Mexicanos is as a "patron-client" system. It is prevalent among local Anglos to relate to Mexican-Americans in a paternalistic manner. The paternalistic behaviors are so structured in the interaction system that locals are not really aware of their importance. Some of the leading ranchers spoke with a great deal of emotional pain regarding the recent political and social antagonisms directed their way by Mexicanos whom their family had "always helped and cared for." However, patronage requires a reciprocal role relationship and Anglo newcomers often pointed out that Mexican-Americans continue to play the game with the local Anglos. Such role relationships specify that the subordinate Mexican-American relate to the Anglo in a very submissive, meek and happy manner, while the Anglo functions as a problem solver, financer, employer, and general manager for Mexicano problems and affaiirs.

One extremely visible cultural distinction typifying the two ethnic sectors was the manner in which the resulting patterns are "organizational" to the Anglos and "structural" to the Mexican-American. Since the Anglos control the local physical and social environment the processes of acquiring scarce energy forms, such as education, economic aid, and other socially enhancing attributes, are viewed by Anglos as strictly a matter of knowing who, how, and when to manipulate. These are organizational management features. On the other hand, the Mexican-American believes that such matters are out of his control and nothing can be done without relying upon "gifts" of resources from the superordinate Anglos. Thus, the Mexican-American has traditionally conceptualized his position as "structural" that is, beyond his control.

The Mexican-American Threat to Anglo Dominance

The investigation noted that the traditional power relations and the associated cultural features have been threatened by a significant demographic transformation, local socio-cultural changes on the part of emerging Mexican-American entrepreneurs, and cultural and power brokerage by non-local units.

First, there have been a number of demographic conditions operating to "encourage" the Mexican-American challenge to Anglo dominance. The Mexican-American population has increasingly dominated the environment as a result of a relatively higher fertility rate, lower out-migration rates, and a higher percent of in-migrants. The measures of the last several decades indicate that Mexicanos occupy a more favorable age-sex profile, which would indicate a continual growth trend for Mexicanos in the two counties.

The educational characteristics revealed that Mexicanos have traditionally not participated in the formal educational apparatus, which supports the ethnographic data. However, recent trends have led to the increased social control of the school environment by the Mexicano students. Yet, relative to Anglos the Mexicanos possess a lower educational attainment ranking which "contributes" to a lower occupational ranking. Further, the lower occupational position in the labor force has been translated into low economic ranking. Although both ethnic sectors revealed heavy out-migration of their working cohorts this has had a particularly detrimental effect upon the economic condition of the Mexicano because of their higher dependency ratio. It was noted that the welfare programs have helped to alleviate their economically depressed conditions to a certain degree. Thus, the analyst maintains that these demographic forces act as "push" factors in the emerging ethnic conflict.

Second, the analyst found that there had been an increase in the number of Mexican-American entrepreneurs and that these men have increasingly questioned the traditional subordinate position of Mexicanos and the concomitant cultural baggage. Since they were replicating a number of key Anglo cultural ideas they felt they deserved to meet the Anglo on the same social power level. Their rationale was that their entrepreneurial activity has led to changed labor relations. This is, they moved from being employees to being employers, hence from dumb to smart, from irresponsible to responsible, and so forth. Most important is the fact that the Mexican-American entrepreneurs were no longer as dependent upon Anglo economic resources as in the past, thus producing a different power relationship.

The history of the locales also revealed the presence of a number of Mexicanos in the pre-World War II years who did not share the local cultural features regarding their ethnic subordination. However, it was noted that these persons were not indigenous to the local area and had earlier experienced superordinate ranking. In North and South Towns such persons operated as fregmented units and evidently did not attempt to play a significant brokerage role. That is, they did not attempt to transmit their meanings to others, but used their skill authority to maximize resources for their own personal enhancement.

Third, there were a number of units brokering culture and power to the local Mexican-American population which contributed heavily to the latest attempts to destroy the Anglos superordinate power position.

First, since World War II returning veterans have brokered a new set of cultural features. In military service they participated in a totally different power relationship, where one's power position was defined according to achieved rank and not ethnicity. Second, northern migrants experienced a different relationship with Anglos. However, their migrant work also led to more economic independence from the local South Texas agricultural economy, which removed a key source of Anglo control. In both instances, military and migrant, the structural nature of the cultural power features were gradually perceived as organizational. Whereas the subordinate power position had been defined through such concepts as "cultural inferiority, no initiative," and other such meanings, the new definitions were related to Anglo dominance. Third, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's was noted. Fourth, a number of federal programs were recorded for brokering power on behalf of the Mexicano. The Education Act of 1965 was a key instrument in this process. Funds were allocated for up-grading the present educational program through additional, and more modern teaching aids. Teacher aides were funded to work with the classroom teachers in an attempt to bridge linguistic and cultural barriers. Further, the Texas Education Agency functioned as the conduit for federal funds and policed the local system's adherence to the guidelines attached to those funds by the federal units. Such upper-level activity made a significant contribution to a gradual (nascent) shifting of the local school leaders' emphasis from Anglo to Mexicano student needs.

A concomitant feature of the federal unit's impact upon the local school system was the policing role played by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). This unit, through TEA, forced compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which demanded an ethnic balance in schools and classrooms. The analyst noted that the local school leaders felt increasingly trapped by the state and federal controls attached to funds, which locals also felt they had to have to continue to operate.

The federal poverty programs of the 1960's also provided a source of derivative power for local Mexican-Americans. Both locales participated in setting up an organization called the Economic Opportunity Development Corporation (EODC). This organization made additional economic resources available to the local Mexicano population and played a brokerage role in solving problems related to such areas as education, health care, employment counseling, family counseling, legal problems, and so forth. Further, the EODC provided local Mexicanos with administrative experience, which will further enhance their ability to compete with Anglos in terms of skill authority.

The analyst noted that the Federal Housing program created a number of low-income housing units to both locales, further advancing the Mexicanos' material comfort and brokering significant financial resources.

One of the most significant programs affecting the local power relations was the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). The investigation noted the way in which VISTA brokered skill authority and culture to South Town Mexicanos and fueled the already existing mobilization.

Fifth, the writer described a number of Mexicano organizations that developed after World War II, culminating with the contemporary Chicano movement led by the La Raza Unida Party of Texas. Each organization (G.I. Forum, LULAC, etc.) brokered a new set of cultural meanings and all contributed to the mobilization observed during the period of field work.

The analyst noted that the traditional Anglo subordination of the Mexicano socially and culturally could be used by Chicanos as fitting closely the idea of internal colonialism. The immigrant Anglos locked up and controlled the land and the market system. The Mexicano population was indigenous to the larger "region" and provided Anglos with a source of inexpensive labor. The labor differentials resulted in the creation of a series of ethnocentric projections by the dominant Anglo population which resulted in believed cultural inferiority by Mexicanos and created ethnic boundaries. Such social institutions as the schools intentionally or unintentionally functioned as maintenance mechanisms. The Raza Unida Party was noted for conceiving the traditional Anglo-Mexicano relations within the preceding framework. The Ciudadanos of North Town adhered to the idea that Anglos had historically dominated and had not been willing to allow Mexicanos to equally share governance, but were not at the conceptual stage found among the RUP in South Town.

Given the cultural and power brokerage previously recorded, the stage was set for an increased Mexicano confrontation with Anglo superordinates over control of scarce energy forms.

Briefly, there were a number of significant differences between the mobilizing units of North Town and South Town. First, North Town's Ciudadanos were comprised of older Mexicanos, who were entrepreneurs. South Town's RUP elites were youthful and supported basically through local government programs or scholarships. Second, North Town's movement was relatively indigenous, whereas South Town's was an extension of the regional RUP. Third, South Town's RUP had a longer political career history than North Town's Ciudadanos. South Town's RUP was initiated in 1969-1970 and North Town's Ciudadanos in the closing months of 1972. Fourth, each shared a different cultural potential regarding the ability of the Anglos to use greater amounts of power in the confrontation. North Town Ciudadanos felt that local BGL Anglos had superior power position relative to their own.

On the other hand, South Town RUP leaders believed their cultural potential was superior via the ability to mobilize Mexicano votes. The writer posited this phenomenon as the reason for RUP's more separatist, or polarizing, rhetoric and overt behavior. Fifth, although both mobilizing units shared a set of cultural features regarding local Anglo domination the fact that Anglos differed in their ability to control their environment was seen to account for the discontinuity in valued acts attached to attempts to maximize control over the city council and the school board.

The response of the Anglo units in the two locales revealed some interesting differences. Relative to North Town, South Town Anglos were unable to operate successfully at the informal power unit level. This is especially significant since South Town Anglos shared the cultural features attached to Mexicanos and the Chicano movement so prevalent in North Town. Thus, South Town Anglos have not been able to repress the RUP mobilization. The fact that South Town Anglos have been able to maintain control of the school board has been due to RUP's inability to control the Mexican-American entrepreneurs and not Anglo power use. The resulting coalition of Anglos and key Mexican-American entrepreneurs has been an accomodation-coalition necessitated by the inability of Anglos to organize successfully. On the other hand, North Town Anglos were able to mobilize an effective informal consensus unit which has successfully defeated the local Mexicano mobilization. The reason, or reasons, behind the ability of Anglos in one locale to mobilize into a more efficient power unit and not those in another, fairly contiguous locale, is of great heuristic concern. Cultural ecologists have often pointed out that technological systems, such as pastorialism, horticultural, industrial, and so forth, contribute to shaping the social behavior of its operations (cf. Edgerton 1974; Vayda 1969). The preceding analysis often sought to distinguish the dominance of a ranching technology in South County as opposed to a farming system in North County. It was pointed out that the ranching technology was more individualistic and labor extensive, relative to farming. In fact, several South Town ranchers volunteered the notion that "farmers and ranchers are different kinds of people." Further, "we're a different breed of cat that those farmers in North Town." When the analyst pursued this issue it was pointed out that ranchers are very private and individualistic type persons, whereas farmers are more cooperative, friendlier, and therefore more organizational. The analyst suggests, in a speculative manner, that South Town's Anglos were unable to organize successfully in meeting the RUP threat because the ranching technology had created a social predisposition which mitigated against further power organization.

School Leadership

Within the context of historic Anglo dominance of the Mexican-Americans and the eventual threat to that structural relationship the schools were noted to have been perceived as valued energy forms by both ethnic sectors. Thus competition has focused on acquiring control of the school boards, which further served to clarify not only the power relationship between schools and the larger locale, but the concomitant cultural features attached.

The analysis recorded the traditional control of schools in both locales by Anglos. In both cases key farmers, ranchers, and businessmen dominated the school boards. However, South Town exhibited relatively little competition among Anglos for school board positions. Since the creation of the South Town Independent School District until the Mexicano (RUP) challenge in 1970, the board was controlled by one businessman. New board members were chosen by this one dominant in consort with a few others who shared his economic value-class attached to local school operation. Until the RUP unit acquired several seats on the board in 1970, no Mexicanos had ever served.

North Town's record indicated relatively heavy Anglo competition for school board positions. This reveals a greater diffusion of power among a number of fragmented units operating at the same level of power concentration. Although each unit shared the general notion of an economizing value-class regarding school management, the competition revolved around such issues as getting rid of the coach, an administrator or teacher, or in order to use the position as a means of placing one's own children in a more favorable position in the school environment. It was noted that the school environment included a number of scarce resources, awards and so forth, which increased or enhanced a family's social position.

Any discussion regarding motivation for locals for seeking board membership historically is fairly speculative. The sample of past board members interviewed was sufficient, however, to provide the analyst with an insight into the value-classes generally attached by Anglos to school leadership prior to the conflict with Mexicanos. This is not the same kind of measure that would meet the needs of a great deal of the more "psychological-motivational" analysis previously recorded. For example, McCarty (1959) recorded that his respondents were motivated to seek board membership either out of civic responsibility feelings, need for social prestige, or dissatisfaction with another board member's behavior. Anglo board members in South Town would historically fit the "civic responsibility" category. The only means of getting most ranchers in South County to do any social labor was by appealing to their civic responsibility. Many of the North Town board members would fit the same category. Social prestige is an attribute attached to any superordinate power position and seems to the analyst to be a useless concept in the present power context. However, it is obvious that the opposition to South Town's school board over the years was "dissatisfied" with either one or all of the existing board members. North Town competition would be more difficult to conceptualize in McCarty's categories. Again, using the concept of power, and the concomitant baggage, board membership has been sought in both locales as a valued energy form for enhancing social control. Among the values attached to this form were such ideas as economy, a successful athletic program, better professional personnel, and children's social mobility. Thus, using the power-cultural apparatus for conceptualizing school board leadership the emphasis is somewhat removed from the more ambiguous psychological phenomena.

The historical data on Anglo school board competition bears strong resemblance to the findings of Goldhammer (1955), as well as Vidich and Bensmen (158). As in Vidich and Bensmen (1958) the social system was the largest industry and had the largest budget in both locales. Thus, for Anglos the school not only was a valued energy form for its social and economic vertical mobility tract, but also for its distribution of dollars into the local economy. Economic patronage to local friends was evidently an important aspect of school board membership. In relation to Goldhammer's (1955) study the present analysis substantiates the inter-articulation between membership on the school board and the support of other local, non-school, power holders. Further, board members were generally self-perpetuating, contingent upon the support of other local power units, voter apathy, and the ability to control the opposition. South Town Anglo voters were probably more apathetic than North Towners, but the difference is not sufficient to argue over. Yet, apathy of voters in the context of a power analysis does not mean "disinterest," as seems to be the case in Goldhammer's study. Rather, it would be more accurate to conceptualize "voter apathy" as an indicator of social control by a number of superordinates who demonstrate the values of the Anglo public in their leadership of schools. In both locales the board members were generally fulfilling the cultural expectations of local Anglos and were able to organize a sufficient number of power units to maintain control of the board. On the other hand, Mexican-Americans' voter apathy reflects traditional patterns whereby Anglos controlled the voting process. With the ethnic conflict locals were forced to make decisions, which overtly exhibited the meanings attached to local schools (an energy form) by both ethnic sectors.

Above all, the analysis shows how the school domain is perceived by one ethnic sector (Chicanos RUP) as functioning as an energy form for historically maintaining their socio-cultural subordination. Concomitantly, there is a significant number of Anglos who, with varying degrees of consciousness, view the school domain as functioning to maintain Mexican-American socio-cultural subordination. This type of phenomenon has not been dealt with in past educational research. Crain's (1968) study examined the power processes of desegregating schools in a number of cities, but did not deal with the power function of the school domain in maintaining the subordinate position of Blacks. Wax and Wax (1971) show that schooling for Indians has been counter productive but do not examine the power dimensions attached to the use of schools by Whites. This is not to suggest that there has been, necessarily, in South Texas a conscious conspiracy by all Anglos to use the school domain in the previously described manner. On the contrary, Anglos in the two South Texas locales firmly believe that the schools have been accessible to any person with the initiative and motivation to achieve. Yet, schools have functioned as a sociological boundary maintaining device.

If the importance of schools as a valued energy form is understood, then the behavior of school leaders is greatly clarified. Very simply put, schools' leaders in both locales generally accepted the local power relations and the concomitant cultural features. The professional school personnel unable to accept the local power and culture were "sent packing" or found the environment so intolerable that they resigned.

The ethnic conflict for control of the schools suggests that when there is a power change, or threatened loss of power to the existing power holders, at the school board level, then there will be less "latitude" for subordinates' actions within the school domain--administrators and teachers. The actions of administrators and teachers become increasingly scrutinized for signs that their acts may be "brokering" the cultural and power characteristics of the opposition.

In the case of South Town the power confrontation resulted in a transformation of school administrators and a significant change in the teaching personnel. In both cases the change brought in personnel who reflected the local power and cultural accomodation worked out between Anglos and Mexicano entrepreneurs in an attempt to defeat the RUP unit. These social leadership changes resulted in significant curricular changes. The social change of the student body was itself not a result of the changes in power relations at the upper levels of school leadership, but was a contributive factor to the local mobilization and subsequent changes.

North Town's Anglos have thus far been able to withstand the Ciudadanos' challenge and the two ethnic sectors were recorded as extremely polarized. The Mexican board members were almost totally eliminated by North Town's Anglo mobilization. Thus the Anglo professional administration maintained a fair degree of continuity. Several principals left because of what they considered intolerable ethnic pressures and a weak superintendent, but relative to South Town the changes were not significant. The loss of teaching personnel has been heavy, but some of this is due to traditional factors, such as low salaries, competition from San Antonio, small town life, and so forth. The most significant change factor has been in the social composition of the student body, which has become dominated by the Mexicanos. The potential power of the Mexican-American students has yet to be organized. The writer suspects that the student power might be able to accomplish what the Ciudadanos were unable to, namely the effective mobilization of the Mexicanos in order to capture control of the school domain.

The conflict in the two locales did produce a change in board-superintendent relations. The relationship does not fit neatly into McCarty's (1959) typology, but there is evidence to suggest the utility of his hypotheses. First, South Town's traditionally strong man dominated board resulted in a weak superintendent.[1] Further, the presence on the North Town board of a dominant Anglo in the early 1970's was a significant factor in creating a weak superintendent in that district. The analyst was told by some North Town board members that the board had historically believed in the professional skill of the superintendent and left policy implementation in his hands--even a great deal of the policy development. However, when the female took office she insisted the board deal with each and every issue of the school's operation. On one occasion a question was raised in the board meeting, the answer to which one member wanted to defer the superintendent's discretion. However, the dominant female objected, saying that "he (superintendent) doesn't know anymore about this than we do, so let's decide how we want it handled!" Thus, McCarty's (1959) proposition that a board dominated by a strong member will result in a weak superintendent was supported by the data.

McCarty's (1959) second proposition states that a "rational" board, where policies are discussed and all members have equal inputs, will result in a superintendent with wide latitude, is not substantiated by the present investigation. The local ethnic conflict was an over-riding variable in this context. The new South Town "factional" board is analogous to a rational board, yet the ethnic conflict has mitigated against any "wide latitude" for the superintendent. Just the opposite has taken place. The superintendent is very adept at seeing that the board makes all pertinent decisions, which keeps him "off the hook" with all power units. Locals are forced to deal with the board and not the superintendent.

The third proposition states that a "log-rolling" board results in a superintendent who is always reacting to shifting factions. This idea is conceptually inapplicable to the present situation. The factions were present on the North Town board, but they were not "shifting" and the superintendent consistently sided with the Anglo unit.

McCarty's fourth proposition that a "factionalized" board results in a paralyzed superintendent is somewhat true in North Town. When the board was controlled by the Mexicanos (1973) the superintendent was paralyzed to a large extent. However, he was already a weak superintendent and fairly ineffectual. It would be more accurate to say that the board was paralyzed.

The analysis has important implications for the issues described in the first chapter regarding local control and the "open-system" concept. The investigation demonstrated quite clearly that the South Texas school districts were systemically related to the local, regional, state, and federal systems. It was noted that these "non-school" units consistently brokered power and culture which resulted in the reorganization of local schools (desegregation, programs, etc.) and the ethnic conflict itself. There is no way that these local school districts can be understood as "closed-systems" in the organization framework. To do so would lead to an incredibly false illusion regarding the operation and governance of schools--at least at this level. It may be that the larger the school system the sharper the political boundaries become. It would be of great interest to pursue the research along these lines and be able to type school systems by size with respect to power and cultural brokerage. However, in these two cases the school leader served as a socio-cultural paradigm of the larger social environment which supports McCarty's thesis. Since the analysis did not focus on the student cultures the extrapolation at this point may seem weak, but research being carried out within the North Town high school since the analyst left indicates that it is true that even the student culture reflects the local milieu. It would seem reasonable for such to be true.

The writer noted earlier a number of works which discuss the problems of local control (cf. Campbell 1959, 1970; Ziegler 1972; Iannaccone and Lutz 1970; to name a few). The present data reveals that the local school districts in the two South Texas towns are power subordinates to state and federal units. Yet the locals also control certain key aspects of the school environment (hiring, firing, taxing, expenditures, policy regarding student behavior, etc.). In power terms the local school system operates within multiple power domains. At the local level it distributes resources either from higher levels or allocated from locals. Of special importance is that Anglos have certain control over the schools at the local level, which includes patronage as well as hiring of school personnel who share the local ethnic culture. Thus, the idea of Mexican-American cultural inferiority has been transmitted through time, continuing traditional ethnic power relations. It is this control that is of great importance to local Anglos and specifically relevant to the question of local control versus state or federal. In this sense the school as an institution might be conceived as a "cultural and power broker," contributing to Anglo control over the local physical and social environment, whether consciously or unconsciously. The fact that there is a minimum salary for teachers, a standard curriculum, and so forth, has been organizationally irrelevant to local Anglos. This is not to say that they don't weary of the economic burden emanating from the state and federal units, quite the contrary, but such issues are "relatively" unimportant.

Chicano control might turn out to be a cause of great consternation for state and federal units, for the former generally perceive the whole educational power domain as an Anglo conspiracy for subjugation of the Mexican-American. Thus, they will probably attach different meanings to state and federal demands.

The analysis also indicates that Minar (1964) is wrong in supposing that the superintendent is the primary controller of local educational policy, at least for school districts of the size of North and South Towns. Again, he may be right about the superintendent in large school districts. If so, then the distinction needs to be made. Further, Kerr (1969) is wrong in contending that school boards function chiefly to legitimate school policy for the local population. The analysis found the reverse to be true. The board functioned chiefly to broker the socio-cultural values and meanings of the local population to the professional school leaders. Those school leaders unable to perform on behalf of the local culture found another position elsewhere.

Summarily, the investigation provides a case of how educational units are used as a valued energy form for controlling the social environment of one ethnic sector by another, intentionally or unintentionally. Second, the analysis demonstrated the way in which culture and power are intimately related and are brokered by upper-level units, as well as local units, in sustaining the existing power system, or changing it. Third, the school system functions as an "open-system" and mirrors the non-school socio-cultural environment. Fourth, the analysis revealed that school leaders are the subordinates within a local power domain. Fifth, and concomitantly, local ethnic conflict results in local power units increasing their control over the school environment, which results in restricting the social and cultural leadership roles of professional school personnel.

FOOTNOTES

1. Crystal City has had a "strong man" dominated school board for several years, but the superintendent is reported to be strong (personal conversation with Walter Smith, 1974). There are a number of other aspects related to this problem, rather than a simple correlation.

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Table 4
Cash Receipts: Crops Versus Livestock in Three Winter Garden Counties and Compared with North and South Counties - 1968-1972[a]

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Figures in 1,000 dollars

	1968		1969		1970		1971		1972	
	Crop	Livestk	Crop	Livestk	Crop	Livestk	Crop	Livestk	Crop	Livestk
Dimmit	3,088	3,496	2,933	3,708	2,361	4,778	2,655	5,452	2,456	8,533
Zavala	7,422	5,467	7,404	6,864	7,727	6,684	8,500	6,450	10,712	8,225
Uvalde	7,935	8,870	4,916	9,727	4,635	8,590	5,000	10,473	4,710	10,707
North	10,156	3,771	10,375	4,373	9,761	6,077	10,115	8,095	11,923	11,107
South	1,684	4,433	1,637	4,020	2,741	5,824	2,102	6,716	3,764	7,362

Vegetable Counties:
Crops - 82,454
Livestock - 108,024
Total - 190,478
Crop % of total - 43%

North and South Counties:
Crops - 64,258
Livestock - 61,778
Total - 126,036
Crop % of total - 51%

North and South Compared:

North County:
Crops - 52,330
Livestock - 33,423
Total - 85,753
Crop % of total - 61%

South County:
Crops - 11,928
Livestock - 28,355
Total - 40,283
Crop % of total - 30%

Source: Texas Department of Agriculture

Table 5
Irrigated Land in Farms, A Comparison of Three
Winter Garden Counties and North/South
Counties: 1909-1969[1]
(in acres)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

YEAR	Dimmit	Zavala	Uvalde	North	South
Total land area (acres)	860,096	826,496	1,016,320	714,240	960,640
1909	3,327	1,021	1,676	NA	2,165
1919	5,397	1,642	484	655	2,531
1929	13,694	13,126	1,693	1,101	2,419
1935	10,056	19,616	1,935	755	3,216
1939	14,305	23,384	1,021	761	3,094
1944	13,345	32,367	2,285	961	5,217
1949	21,898	46,287	8,521	2,323	1,812
1954	18,340	45,763	13,529	9,415	4,420
1959	15,807	37,068	13,571	16,585	2,779
1964	22,312	59,251	22,478	38,877	5,216
1969	22,349	56,881	29,603	46,417	7,665

[1] Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 6

Crop Production

1968 - 1972

North County: Total Area

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Crop:	Acres-1968	Acres-1969	Acres-1970	Acres-1971	Acres-1972
Cotton	3,000	3,100	2,850	1,100	1,750
Wheat	5,400	6,000	3,900	3,000	4,900
Oats	22,900	18,200	26,400	21,000	13,500
Barley	---	---	---	900	---
Sorghums	30,900	30,200	27,000	33,000	32,200
Corn	2,300	4,000	3,000	2,400	2,200
Peanuts	18,250	18,400	18,400	18,200	18,700
Cowpeas	5,100	3,000	3,000	1,300	1,000
Watermelons	4,700	4,300	4,500	4,800	6,900
Potatoes	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,200	1,700
All Vegetables	8,700	8,600	8,800	9,600	11,800
Total Acreage	102,650	97,300	99,350	96,500	94,650

Source: Texas County Statistics, Texas Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, Texas Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Agriculture Reports for 1968-1972. 1968 Report #50; 1969 Report #69; 1970 Report #80; 1971 Report #92; 1972 Report #103.

Table 7
Number of Farms[a] and Average Acreage for Three Winter Garden Counties
Comparied with North and South Counties
(1900-1969)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

YEAR	Dimmit		Zavala		Uvalde		North		South	
	Farms	Average Acres	Farms	Average Acres	Farms	Average Acres	Farms	Average Acres	Farms	Average Acres
1900	105	8,614.2	102	4,232.0	275	3,419.8	394	2,123.7	107	4,034.3
1910	154	2,543.8	150	2,959.4	706	930.3	918	692.3	263	3,787.9
1920	295	704.7	239	2,741.3	706	1,731.7	720	807.5	280	2,125.0
1925	297	252.9	249	1,748.2	977	961.1	1,683	234.4	476	1,079.9
1929	241	732.3	304	1,518.4	761	1,203.3	943	593.6	627	530.2
1935	452		298		853		1,067		629	
1940	442		316		755		713		453	
1945	416	1,537.8	282	2,482.7	683	1,566.2	596	1,131.9	488	1,769.1
1950	335	2,334.1	304	2,825.0	690	1,878.9	600	1,071.6	397	2,421.7
1954	291		246		641		541		282	
1959	222	2,954.7	267	2,179.3	525	2,539.2	424	1,384.4	228	4,186.7
1964	172	4,571.5	260	2,300.7	523	3,282.7	376	1,521.1	207	4,121.9
1969	212	4,174.1	298	2,249.2	520	2,213.1	518	1,191.1	288	3,001.0

[a] Generally the definition of a farm includes all agricultural operations, livestock and crop production.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 13th Census of the U.S.: 1910, Vol. VII, Agriculture Reports by States, Nebraska-Wyoming; 14th Census of the U.S.: 1920, State Compendium, Texas; 15th Census of the U.S., 1930, Agriculture, Vol. 11, State Reports, pt. 2; 16th Census of the U.S., 1940: Agriculture, Vol. 1, State Reports, pt. 5, Statistics for counties; U.S. Census of Agriculture: 1945, Vol. 1, pt. 26, Texas; 1950, Vol. 1, pt. 26, 1954, Vol. 1, Counties and State Economic Areas, pt. 26, 1959, Vol. 1, Counties, pt. 37, Texas; 1964, Vol. 1, pt. 37, Texas.

Table 8

Crop Production

1968 - 1972

South County: Total land area - 960,640 acres

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Crop:	Planted Acres: 1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Cotton	620	700	740	---	---
Wheat	1,650	2,400	800	---	1,900
Oats	2,250	6,800	9,700	6,000	5,400
Sorghums	20,000	15,100	23,700	11,000	12,700
Corn	1,200	1,000	1,300	600	600
Peanuts	2,120	2,150	2,200	2,200	2,450
Cowpeas	500	700	2,900	2,400	2,400
Watermelons	2,800	3,800	4,600	4,000	5,900
Honey dew melons	100	100	---	---	---
All vegetables	3,000	4,000	5,500	5,300	6,500

Source: Texas County Statistics, Texas Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, Texas Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Agriculture Reports for 1968-1972. 1968 Report #50; 1969 Report #69; 1970 Report #80; 1971 Report #92; 1972 Report #103.

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Table 9
Summary of Climatic Data for North Town[a] Texas, 1941-1970[a]

	Temperature (F)							Precipitation
	Means			Extremes				Mean
	Daily maximum	Daily minimum	Monthly	Record highest	Year	Lowest record	Year	Monthly
(a)	12		12	12		12		30
Jan.	65.2	40.4	52.8	89	1963	10	1962	1.21
Feb.	69.2	43.7	56.5	94	1962+	21	1960	1.46
March	76.3	50.2	63.3	95	1967+	27	1965	0.97
April	86.5	60.6	73.4	104	1963	37	1961	2.08
May	89.9	65.9	77.9	105	1967	44	1970	3.42
June	95.8	70.8	83.3	106	1963+	55	1970+	2.59
July	98.4	72.0	85.2	107	1960	64	1967	1.40
Aug.	98.4	72.2	85.3	109	1962	62	1967	2.27
Sept.	92.9	68.8	80.9	105	1965+	50	1967	3.28
Oct.	84.9	60.4	72.7	99	1962	36	1970	2.66
Nov.	75.8	51.0	63.4	94	1963	25	1959	1.29
Dec.	68.2	44.1	56.2	87	1964	21	1966	1.10
Year	83.4	58.3	70.9	109	Aug. 1962	10	Jan. 1962	23.73

[a] Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau, Austin, Texas

(a) Average length of record, years.

+ Also on earlier dates.

Table 10
Summary of Climatic Data for South Town[a]
1950-1969

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	Temperature (F)							Precipitation
	Means			Extremes				Mean
	Daily maximum	Daily minimum	Monthly	Record highest	Year	Record lowest	Year	Monthly
(a)	20	20	20	20		20		20
Jan.	66.2	42.6	54.4	91	1959+	7	1962	0.74
Feb.	70.1	45.8	58.0	99	1963	15	1951	1.34
March	77.3	52.1	64.7	106	1950	26	1965	0.60
April	85.9	61.6	73.8	104	1963	38	1961	1.74
May	91.3	67.6	79.5	107	1967	49	1954	2.56
June	96.9	72.9	84.9	109	1969	58	1955	2.06
July	100.0	74.5	87.3	111	1960	67	1966+	0.81
Aug.	99.5	74.2	86.9	110	1962	63	1967	1.53
Sept.	93.3	70.4	81.9	106	1959+	48	1967	2.94
Oct.	84.9	61.3	73.1	102	1956	37	1967+	2.44
Nov.	74.9	50.8	62.9	93	1950	24	1959	1.26
Dec.	67.4	43.2	55.3	98	1951	21	1966	1.03
Year	83.9	59.8	71.9	111	July 1960	7	Jan. 1962	19.05

[a] Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau, Austin, Texas

(a) Average length of record, years.

+ Also on earlier dates.

Table 11
Summary of Climatic Data for Uvalde, Texas, 1941-1970[a]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	Temperature (F)							Precipitation
	Means			Extremes				Mean
	Daily maximum	Daily minimum	Monthly	Record highest	Year	Record lowest	Year	Monthly
(a)	30	30	30	30		30		30
Jan.	64.3	37.4	50.9	92	1947+	7	1962	1.20
Feb.	68.3	41.8	55.1	94	1959	6	1951	1.55
March	75.8	47.5	61.7	104	1946	21	1965	1.15
April	83.9	57.5	70.7	103	1948	34	1961	2.06
May	88.7	64.7	76.7	104	1967+	42	1970	2.96
June	94.8	70.5	82.7	111	1942	50	1964	2.53
July	97.9	71.8	84.9	111	1944	64	1965	1.63
Aug.	98.2	71.1	84.7	110	1962	60	1967+	2.30
Sept.	92.2	66.8	79.5	106	1952+	36	1942	3.10
Oct.	84.2	57.5	70.9	102	1956+	30	1955	2.84
Nov.	73.5	45.9	59.7	94	1949	22	1959+	0.98
Dec.	66.3	39.1	52.7	93	1955	18	1957	0.92
Year	82.3	56.0	69.2	111	July 1944+	6	Feb. 1951	23.22

[a]Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau, Austin, Texas

(a) Average length of record, years.

+ Also on earlier dates.

Table 12
Summary of Climatic Data for Carrizo Springs, Texas, 1936-1965[a]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	Temperature (F)							Precipitation
	Means			Extremes				Mean
	Daily maximum	Daily minimum	Monthly	Record highest	Year	Record lowest	Year	Monthly
(a)	30	30	30	30		30		30
Jan.	65.8	41.3	53.6	96	1943	16	1963	0.76
Feb.	70.5	45.8	58.2	98	1940	13	1951	1.00
March	78.1	51.5	64.8	107	1956+	24	1948	0.77
April	86.1	59.7	72.9	103	1963+	34	1945	1.70
May	91.4	67.2	79.3	106	1044	46	1956	3.51
June	97.0	72.8	84.9	114	1942	56	1955	2.59
July	99.5	74.0	86.8	112	1960	65	1940	1.32
Aug.	99.8	73.8	86.8	109	1953	62	1946	2.16
Sept.	94.3	69.6	82.0	107	1959	44	1942	2.87
Oct.	85.8	60.4	73.1	101	1951	36	1952	2.33
Nov.	74.5	49.6	62.1	97	1949	25	1959+	0.88
Dec.	67.6	43.1	55.4	98	1951	18	1953	1.07
Year	84.2	59.1	71.7	114	June 1942	13	Feb. 1951	20.96

[a] Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau, Austin, Texas

(a) Average length of record, years.

+ Also on earlier dates.

Table 13
Population: Ethnic Differentiation of Three Winter Garden Counties
Compared with North and South Counties - 1970

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County	1910				1920				1930			
	Mexican-American	Anglo-American	%Mex.	Total all	Mexican-American	Anglo-American	%Mex.	Total all	Mexican-American	Anglo-American	%Mex.	Total all
Dimmit	1,208	2,252	34.4	3,460	3,017	2,279	57.0	5,296	6,222	2,606	70.5	8,828
Zavala	471	1,418	24.9	1,889	1,470	1,638	47.3	3,108	7,660	2,689	74.0	10,349
Uvalde	3,599	7,634	32.0	11,233	3,570	7,199	33.2	10,769	5,030	7,915	38.9	12,945
North	4,320	4,575	48.6	8,895	5,244	4,052	56.4	9,296	5,869	3,542	62.4	9,411
South	2,287	2,460	48.2	4,747	2,905	1,916	60.3	4,821	5,492	2,736	66.7	8,228
	1940				1950				1960			
Dimmit	NA	NA	NA	8,542	7,683	2,971	72.1	10,654	6,760	3,335	67.0	10,095
Zavala	NA	NA	NA	11,603	7,680	3,511	68.7	11,201	9,440	3,256	74.4	12,696
Uvalde	NA	NA	NA	13,246	6,807	9,208	42.5	16,015	8,002	8,812	47.6	16,814
North	NA	NA	NA	9,207	6,250	4,107	60.3	10,351	6,250	3,862	61.8	10,112
South	NA	NA	NA	8,003	5,044	2,441	67.4	7,485	3,832	2,140	64.2	15,972

Table 13 (Continued)

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County	1970				1910-1970		
	Mexican-American	Anglo-American	% Mexican-American	Total all	% Population Chg. Mexican-American	% Population Chg. Anglo-American	% Pop. Chg. All-Net Migra.
Dimmit	7,381	1,658	81.7	9,039	83.6%	-33.8%	61.7%
Zavala	9,275	2,095	81.6	11,370	94.9%	32.3%	83.4%
Uvalde	8,802	8,546	50.7	17,348	59.1%	10.7%	35.2%
North	7,711	3,448	69.1	11,159	44.0%	-24.6%	20.3%
South	3,931	1,084	78.4	5,014	42.0%	-56.0%	.05%

Sources: (1) United States Bureau of the Census, 1910, Vol. 3, Table 3, Mexican-American figures computed using "parentage" classification; (2) 1920, U.S. Census, Vol. 3, Table 1, Mexican-American figures computed via "parentage"; (3) 1930, Census, Vol. 3, Table 1, Mexican race; (4) 1950, U.S. Census, Special Report: Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish surname, Table 9; (5) 1960, U.S. Census, Special Report: Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish surname, Table 14; (6) 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC (1)-C45, Table 129.

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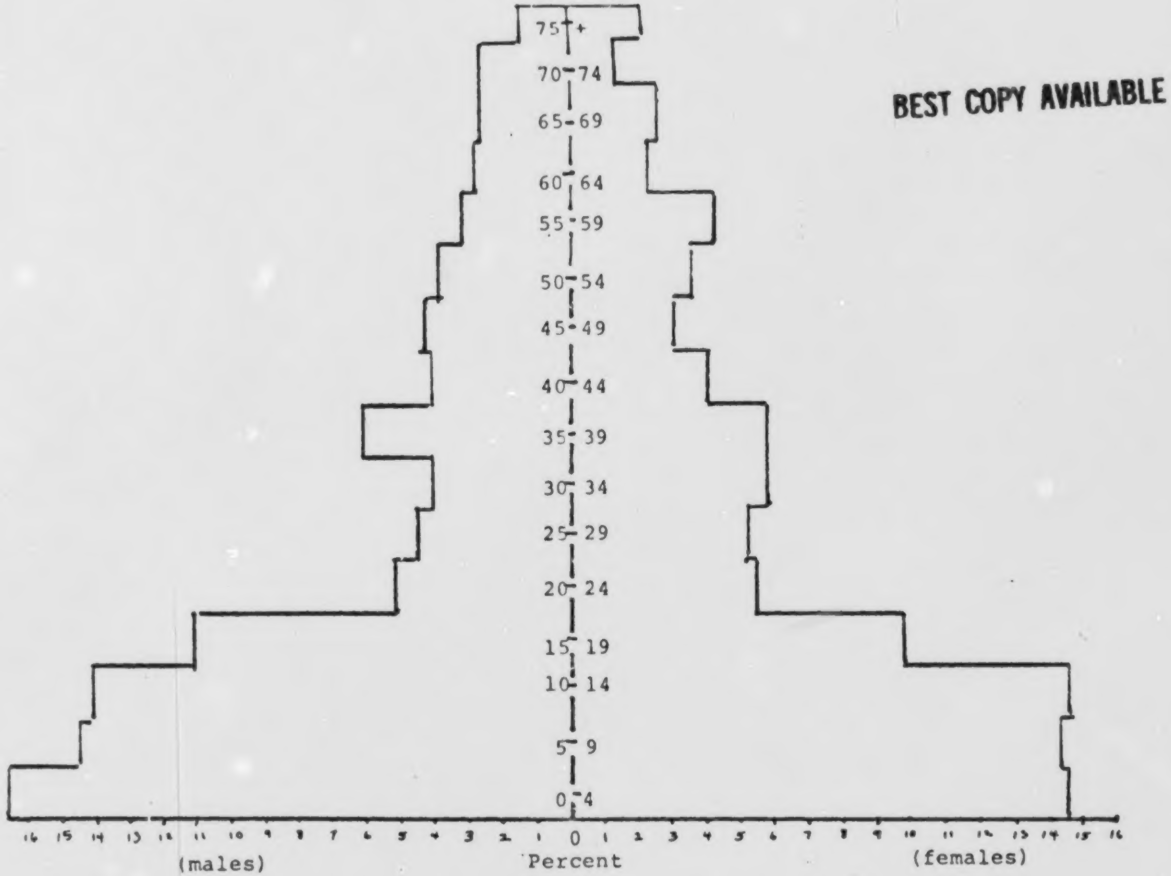

Population Pyramid of North County: 1960 White Persons of Spanish Surname

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Vol. 1, Part 45, Characteristics of the Population. Table 14.

Table 14

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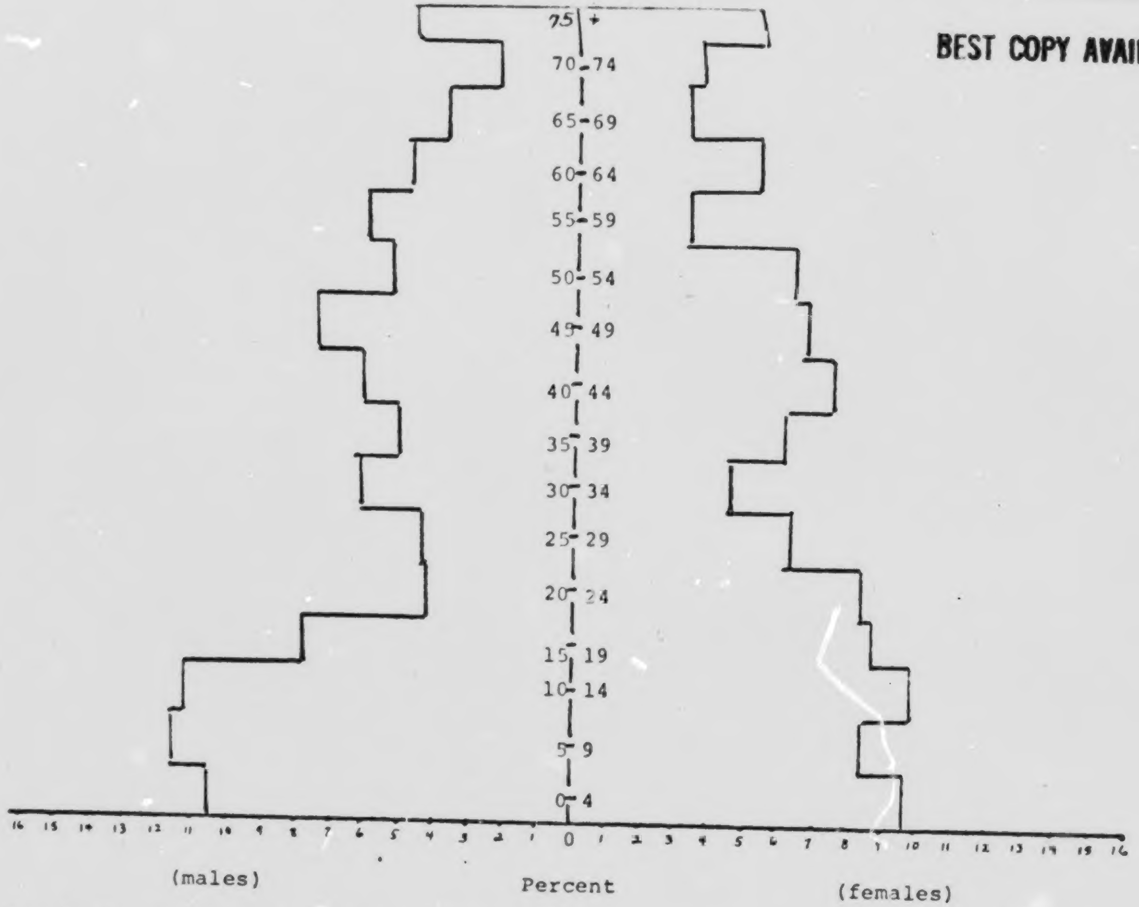

Population Pyramid for North County: 1960 Anglo Americans

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Vol. 1, Part 45, Characteristics of the Population. Table 27.

Table 15

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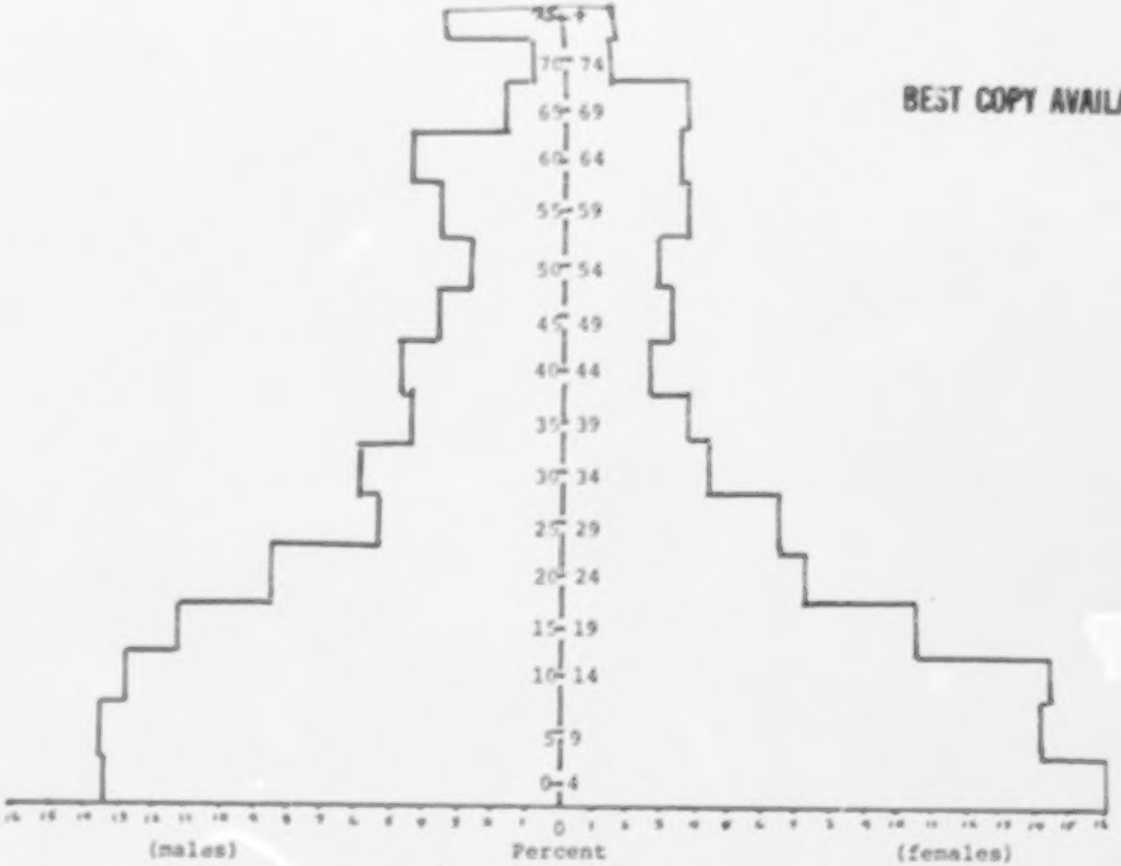

Population Pyramid for North County: 1970 Persons of Spanish Language or Spanish Surname.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1)C45. Table 129.

Table 16

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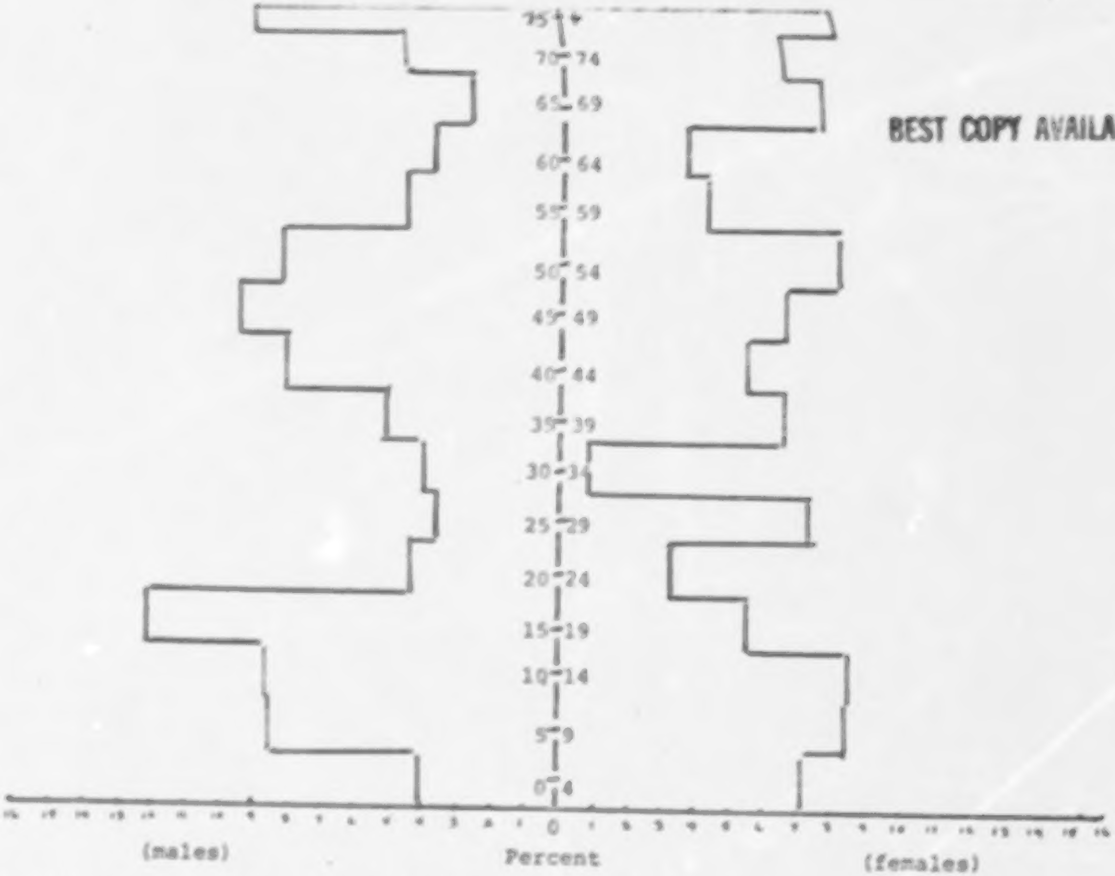

Population Pyramid for North County: 1970 Anglo-Americans

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1)-B45. Table 35.

Table 17

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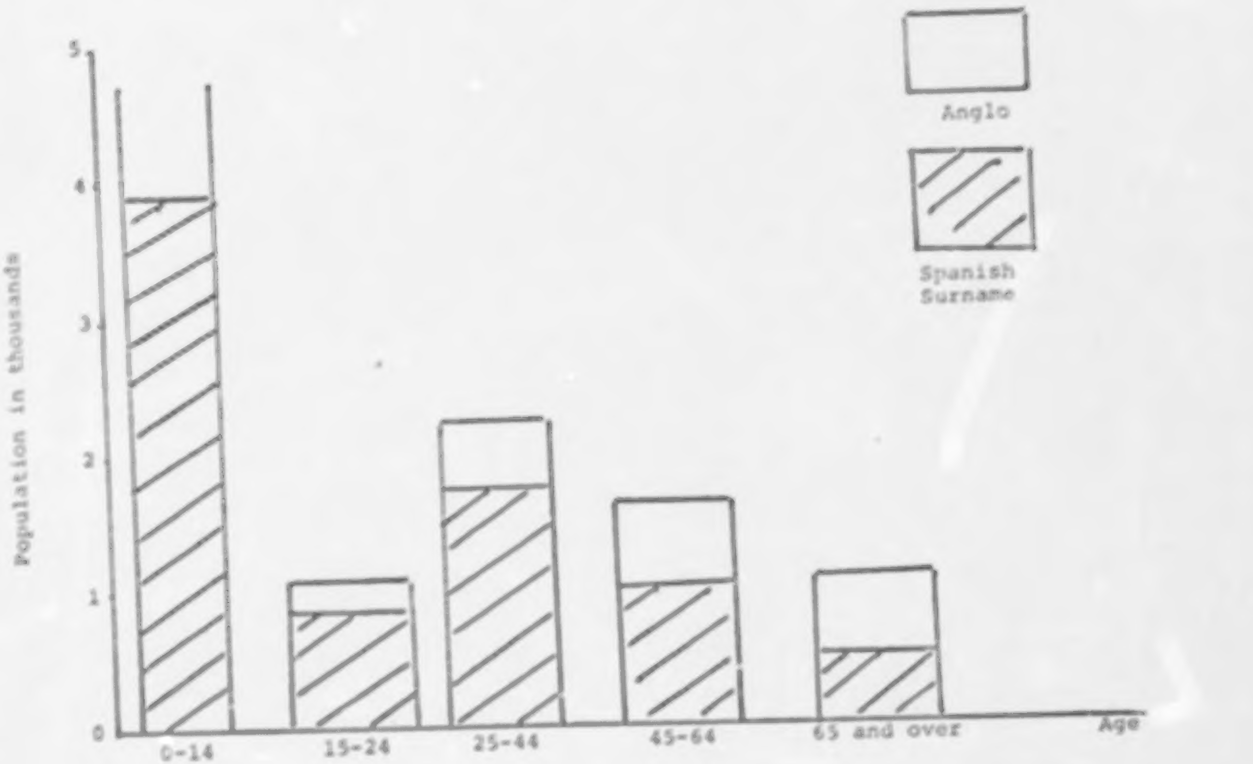
Table 18

1970 Age and Ethnic Distribution for North County



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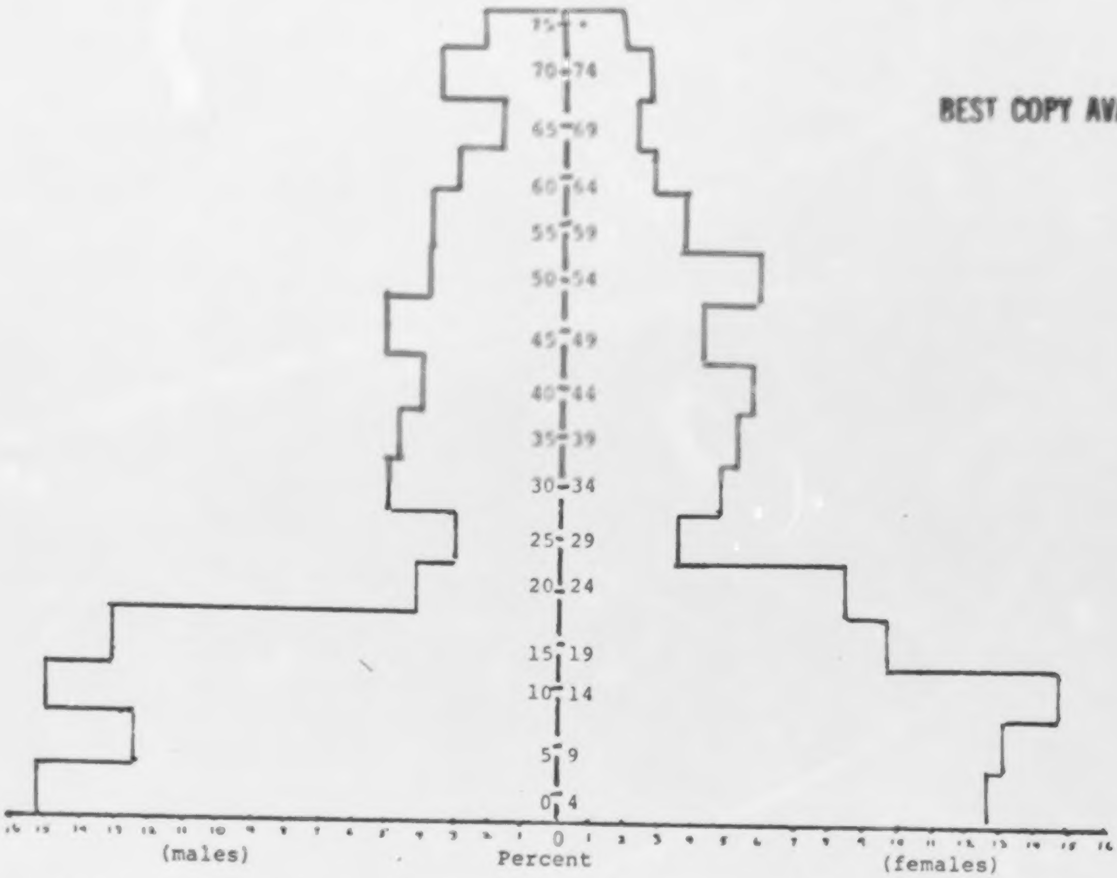

Population Pyramid for South County: 1960 White Persons of Spanish Surname

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Final Report PC(2)-1B. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Table 14.

Table 19

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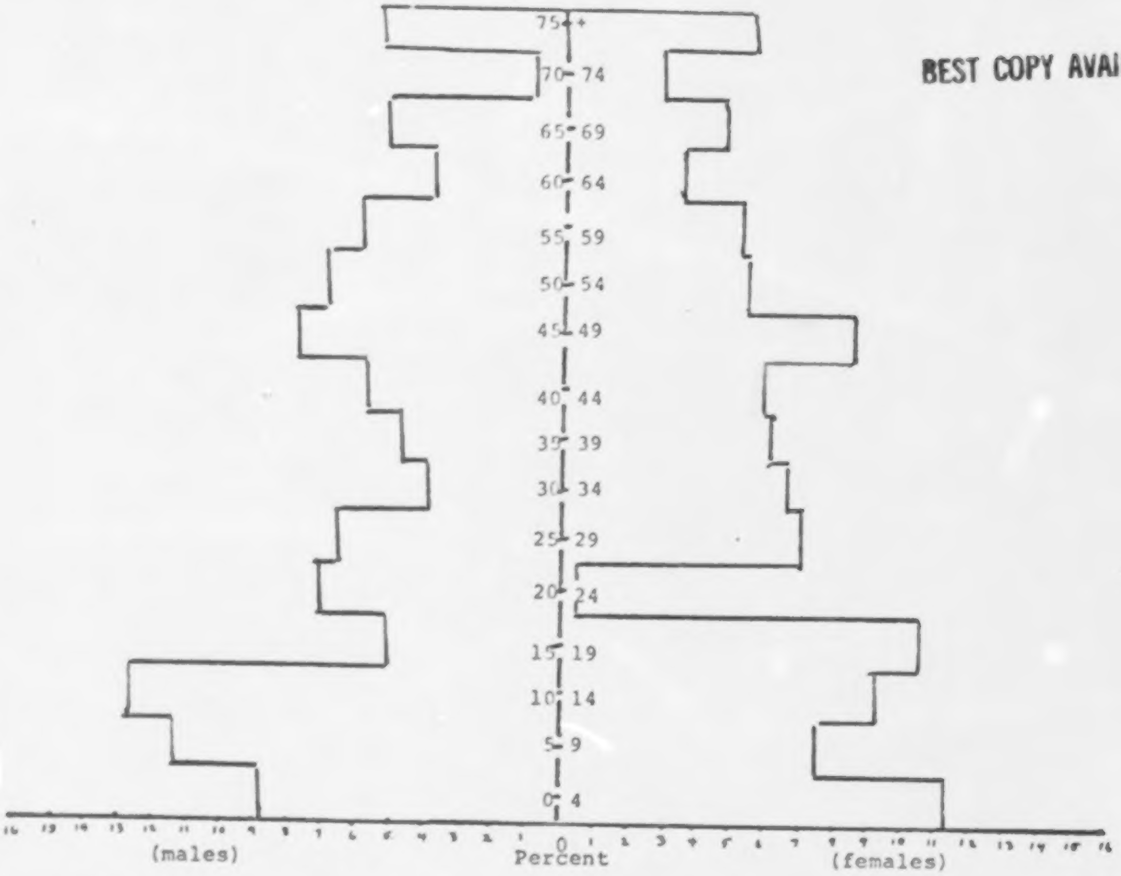

Population Pyramid for South County: 1960 Anglo-Americans

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Vol. 1, Part 45, Characteristics of the Population. Table 27.

Table 20

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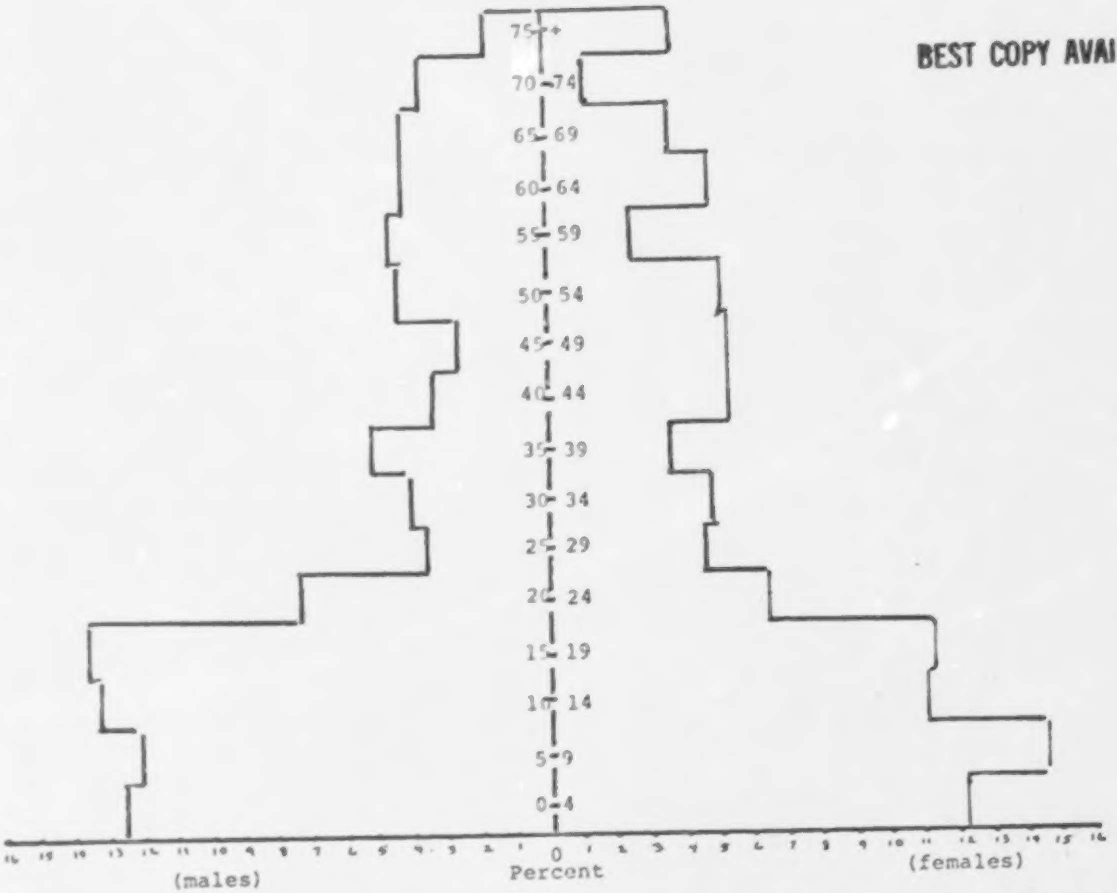

Population Pyramid for South County: 1970 Persons of Spanish Language or Spanish Surname

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. PC(1)-C45, General Social and Economic Characteristics. Table 129.

Table 21

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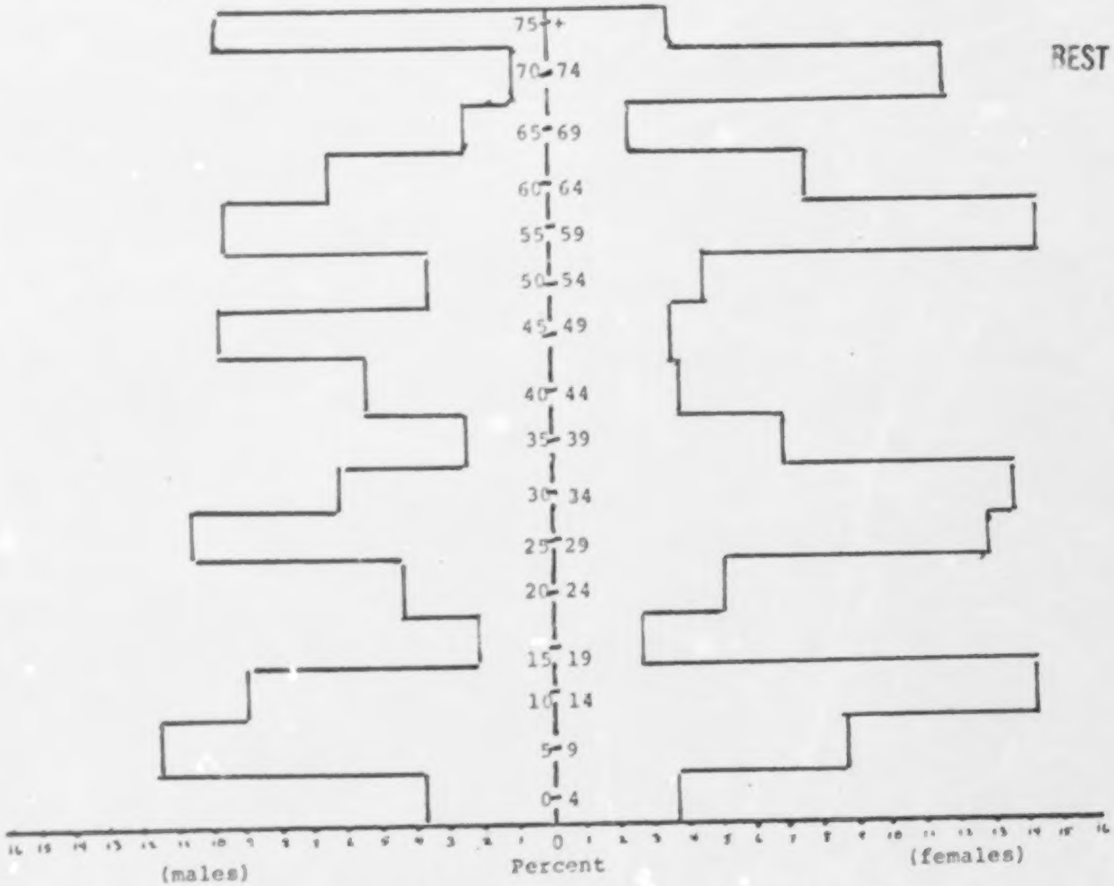

Population Pyramid for South County: 1970 Anglo Americans

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. PC(1)-C45, General Social and Economic Characteristics. Table 35.

Table 22

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Table 23
1970 Age and Ethnic Distribution for South County

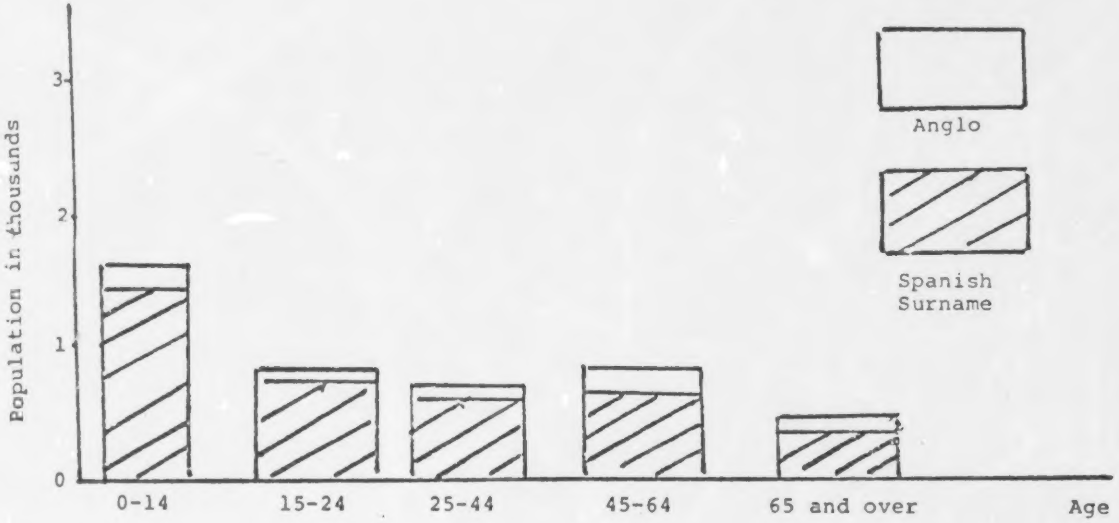

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Table 24
Live Births and Deaths in North County, 1960-1970

Year	Total		Males		Females	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
1960	307	94	169	46	138	48
1961	267	74	119	41	148	33
1962	287	92	142	51	145	41
1963	319	100	149	56	170	44
1964	289	101	151	55	138	46
1965	311	85	168	42	143	43
1966	332	76	148	47	184	29
1967	293	87	144	50	149	37
1968	283	92	139	55	144	37
1969	289	97	154	70	135	27
1970	294	93	159	56	135	37
Totals:	3271	991	1614	569	1629	422

Crude Birth rate (1970): 26.3

Crude Death rate (1970): 8.3

Crude rate of reproductive change (1970): 18

Source: Texas Vital Statistics, 1960 through 1970, Texas State Department of Health, Austin, Texas.

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Table 25
Live Births and Deaths in South County, 1960-1970

Year	Total		Males		Females	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
1960	191	58	95	38	96	20
1961	149	49	82	25	67	24
1962	128	38	71	20	57	18
1963	150	57	75	33	75	24
1964	151	38	70	21	81	17
1965	132	54	67	30	65	24
1966	119	48	69	25	50	23
1967	113	43	56	31	57	12
1968	102	44	53	22	49	22
1969	115	51	55	31	60	20
1970	97	48	4	32	56	16
Totals.	1447	528	697	308	713	220

Crude Birth rate (1970): 19.3

Crude Death rate (1970): 9.6

Crude Rate of Reproductive change (1970): 9.8

Source: Texas Vital Statistics, 1960-1970, Texas Department of Health, Austin, Texas.

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Table 26
Live Births and Deaths in North and South County, Ethnic Differentiation
1970-1972

County/Year	Total		Mexican-American		Anglo	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
North						
1970	294	93	238	46	56	47
1971	272	81	234	38	38	43
1972	269	101	220	54	49	47
Totals:	835	275	692	138	143	147
Crude Birth rate:	73.4		86.5		42.5	
Crude Death rate:		24.2		17.2		43.7
Reproductive rate:		49.2		69.3		-1.2
South						
1970	97	48	82	24	15	24
1971	98	62	74	39	24	23
1972	85	62	72	38	13	24
Totals:	280	172	228	101	42	74
Crude Birth rate:	55.6		57.7		38.7	
Crude Death rate:		34.2		25.5		68.3
Reproductive rate:		21.4		32.2		29.6

Source: Texas Vital Statistics, 1970-1972, Texas Department of Health, Austin, Texas

Table 27
Spanish-Surname Population of North and South Counties, By Nativity and Parentage*
1950-1970

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NORTH COUNTY

Nativity and Parentage	Population 1950	Population 1960	Population 1970	%Population 1950	%Population 1960	%Population 1970	%Gain loss	Absolute Change 1950-1970
Natives of native parentage	5542	5614	7111	88.7	89.8	92.2	3.5	1569
Natives of foreign or mixed parentage	0	17	0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0
Foreign born	708	619	600	11.3	9.9	7.8	-3.5	108
Total	6250	6250	7711	100.0	100.0	100.0		

SOUTH COUNTY

Nativity and Parentage	Population 1950	Population 1960	Population 1970	%Population 1950	%Population 1960	%Population 1970	%Gain loss	Absolute Change 1950-1970
Natives of native parentage	4428	3492	3670	87.8	91.1	93.4	5.6	-758
Natives of foreign or mixed parentage	0	8	0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0
Foreign born	616	332	261	12.2	8.7	6.6	-5.6	355
Total	5044	3832	3931	100.0	100.0	100.0		

*Census data is not specific in each category, especially "natives of foreign or mixed parentage." However, the data does present a "crude" indicator of migratory changes.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1) 1950, Special Report, P.E. #3c, Persons of Spanish Surname, Texas, table 7; (2) 1960, Special Report, Persons of Spanish Surname, Texas, table 15; (3) 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1)-C45, table 130.

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Table 28
Residence in 1965 Compared to Residence in 1970, A Comparison of Anglo-Americans and Persons of Spanish Language or Spanish Surname in North and South Counties

Residence in 1965	North County		South County	
	Spanish-Surname or language	Anglo	Spanish-Surname or language	Anglo
NON-MIGRANT MOVERS				
Total Population 5 years and over	6580	3248	3448	1043
same house as in 1970	4368 (66.5%)	1947 (59.9%)	2241 (67%)	563 (49.2%)
different house	1941 (29.5%)	1154 (35.5%)	1079 (32.2%)	442 (38.6%)
abroad and moved, 1965 residence not reported	271 (4.1%)	147 (4.5%)	128 (3.8%)	38 (3.6%)
	6580 (100%)	3248 (100%)	3448 (100%)	1143 (100%)
Different house	1941	1154	1079	441
different county	451 (23.2%)	597 (51.7%)	302 (28.0%)	302 (68.5%)
same county	1490 (76.8%	557 (48.3%)	777 (72.0%)	139 (31.5%)
	1941 (100%)	1154 (100%)	1079 (100%)	441 (100%)
MIGRANT				
Different county	451	597	302	302
same state	356 (78.9%)	495 (82.9%)	237 (78.5%)	234 (77.5%)
different state	95 (21.1%)	102 (17.1%)	65 (21.5%)	68 (22.5%)
	451 (100%)	597 (100%)	302 (100%)	302 (100%)

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1970. General Social & Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1)-C45, tables 119,130.

Table 29
Rural-Urban Migration Rates for Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties, 1930-1970

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Counties	1930		1940			1950			1960			1970		
	rural	urban	rural	urban	%chg.	rural	urban	%chg.	rural	urban	%chg.	rural	urban	%chg.
Dimmit	100.0	n/a	100.0	n/a	--	59%	41.0%	41.0	44.0	56.0	15.0	40.1	59.9	3.5
Zavala	35.0	65.0	43.7	56.3	8.7	36.0	64.0	7.7	28.0	72.0	8.0	27.9	72.1	0.1
Uvalde	59.2	40.8	49.6	50.4	9.6	45.8	54.2	3.8	38.8	61.2	7.0	39.9	62.1	0.9
North	72.7	27.3	65.6	34.4	7.1	56.8	43.2	8.8	51.1	48.9	5.7	48.7	51.3	2.4
South	61.0	39.0	54.6	45.4	6.4	41.0	59.0	13.6	34.0	66.0	7.0	22.8	77.2	11.2

	Percent total rural-urban migration, 1930-1970
Dimmit	59.9%
Zavala	7.1
Uvalde	21.3
North	24.0
South	38.2

Source: 1940 Census of the Population; 1950 Census of the Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, part 43, Texas, table 5; 1960 Census of the Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Populations, Part 43, Texas, table 6; 1970 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas PC(1)-C45, table 43.

Table 33
School Characteristics of Three Winter Garden Counties
Compared, with North and South Counties, Total and
Spanish-Surname, 25 Years and Older, 1970

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County	MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED				PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Total	Spanish-Surname	Total	Spanish-Surname	Total	Spanish-Surname	Total	Spanish-Surname
Dimmit	5.4	3.2	6.8	4.0	18.9	9.4	22.0	10.8
Zavala	5.2	3.0	5.1	3.1	14.1	9.3	23.4	10.0
Uvalde	9.6	5.4	10.0	5.6	35.7	16.8	35.2	12.8
North	8.7	4.7	8.8	4.3	29.4	14.0	31.5	11.3
South	6.8	4.3	7.2	2.7	20.2	3.9	23.0	6.2
Texas	11.7	7.6	11.6	7.0	47.1 (AV)	24.7 (AV)		

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas PC(1)-C45, tables 120,130.

Table 31
Summary of the Social Composition of South Town High School
Selected Years, 1940-1973

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Social Units	1940		1941		1948		1950		1952		1964	
	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo
Class population	40	143	50	137	36	91	38	113	66	93	137	126
Leadership positions	1	15	0	25	1	25	3	28	7	21	7	10
Favorites	0	16	0	10	0	15	0	15	0	14	7	12
Organizations	37	138	16	73	8	57	25	72	--	--	42	73
Majorettes & cheerleaders	0	4	0	4	0	6	0	16	0	5	0	5
	1965		1968		1969		1971		1972		1973	
	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo	Mexicano-	Anglo
Class population	160	100	182	100	199	77	188	66	222	84	219	73
Leadership positions	10	12	10	12	13	5	21	17	22	11	45	16
Favorites	3	16	9	10	9	10	11	9	22	9	8	3
Organizations	29	72	34	85	73	79	69	68	108	64	113	90
Majorettes & cheerleaders	1	6	1	7	0	7	2	7	5	5	7	1

Source: Primary research, Don E. Post.

Table 32
Summary of the Social Composition of North Town High School
Selected Years, 1949-1972

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Social Units	1949		1951		1958		1964		1968		1972	
	Mexicano	Anglo	Mexicano	Anglo	Mexicano	Anglo	Mexicano	Anglo	Mexicano	Anglo	Mexicano	Anglo
Class Population	37	58	60	112	131	127	243	146	278	139	381	173
Leadership positions	0	8	0	4	9	19	13	12	15	11	10	10
Favorites	0	10	1	13	9	22	13	10	15	11	17	16
Organizations	33	142	63	138	37	68	136	149	82	135	139	171
Majorettes & cheerleaders	2	10	0	8	0	9	0	10	0	11	3	7

Source: Primary research, Don E. Post.

Table 33
Summary: Migratory Analysis of Selected Graduating Classes, South Town High School, 1943, 1948, 1955, 1958, 1964, 1969

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Year & Ethnic Unit	Total	Never Left	Left and Came Back	Left & Never Came Back	Remaining
1943 Class:	(27)				
Anglo	25	6	3	19	76%
Mexican-Am.	2	0	0	2	100%
1948 Class:	(24)				
Anglo	21	2	1	18	85%
Mexican-Am.	3	1		2	66%
1955 Class:	(30)				
Anglo	19	2	0	17	89%
Mexican-Am.	11	2	0	9	81%
1958 Class:	(38)				
Anglo	23	0	1	21	91%
Mexican-Am.	15	4	2	10	66%
1964 Class:	(46)				
Anglo	25	4	0	21	84%
Mexican-Am.	21	2	1	18	85%
1969 Class:	(43)				
Anglo	21	5	1	15	71%
Mexican-Am.	22	6	1	15	68%

Source: Primary research, Don E. Post.

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Table 34
Summary: Migratory Analysis of Selected Graduating Classes, North Town High School, 1939, 1949, 1955, 1959, 1965, 1969

Year & Ethnic Unit	Total	Never Left	Left and came back	Left & Never came back	%Leaving
1939 Class:	(45)				
Anglo	41	8	4	29	71%
Mexican-Am.	4	-	-	4	100%
1949 Class:	(29)				
Anglo	21	5	2	14	67%
Mexican-Am.	8	2	-	6	75%
1955 Class:	(41)				
Anglo	25	4	2	19	76%
Mexican-Am.	16	4	2	10	63%
1959 Class:	(46)				
Anglo	23	5	5	13	57%
Mexican-Am.	23	8	3	12	52%
1965 Class:	(76)				
Anglo	37	1	9	27	72%
Mexican-Am.	39	10	8	21	54%
1969 Class:	(77)				
Anglo	28	2	7	20	71%
Mexican-Am.	49	20	7	22	44%

Source: Primary research.

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Table 35
Percentage of North and South Town High School Graduates Leaving, by School and Ethnicity, for Years Before 1960 and During the 1960's.

High School and Time Period	Anglo			Mexican-American		
	Total	Leaving		Total	Leaving	
		#	%		#	%
North Town High School						
Years before 1960	110	75	68%	51	32	63%
Years during 1960's	65	47	72%	88	43	48%
South Town High School						
Years before 1960	88	75	85%	31	23	74%
Years during 1960's	46	36	48%	43	33	76%

Table 36
School Characteristics: Three Winter Garden School Districts Compared with the Districts of North and South Towns, 1971-1972

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School Districts	Uvalde	Crystal City	Carrizo Springs	North Town	South Town
Students (total)	3895	2077	2002	2130	1211
Spanish-surname	63.4%	98.7%	74.2%	76.6%	74.7%
Other	36.6	1.3	25.8	23.4	23.3
Professional Staff	224	123	122	112	59
Spanish-surname	9.3	65.0	6.6	9.8	11.9
Other	90.7	35.0	93.4	90.2	88.1
Principals (1973)					
Spanish-surname	1	6	2	2 (1973)	2 (1973)
Other	7	0	5	3	3
Average Daily Attend. (1970-1971)	3383	2487	1954	2031	1161
Current Expenditures per student (1970-1971)	$702.22	673.77	596.48	653.63	684.13
Texas State average expend. per student, for independent districts: $643.11					
Assessed Valuation (thousands, 1973-1974)	$67,580	32,000	40,000	41,603	24,500
Maintenance Tax rate	1.18	1.25	1.50	1.23	1.45
Bond service tax	.18	.25	.40	.22	.15

Source: Annual Statistical Report, Texas Education Agency, Part 11, Bulletin 728, 1970-1971, (2) Public School Directory, Texas Education Agency, Bulletin 738.

Table 3"

Financial Resources of Three Winter Garden School Districts Compared
with North and South Town School Districts, 1968-1972

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District/year		Local funds	County funds	State funds	Federal funds
Carrizo Springs	1968	261,410	1,318	682,509	-0-
	1969	273,895	1,379	740,413	-0-
	1970	287,470	1,569	804,507	-0-
	1971	320,773	1,529	929,927	-0-
	1972	344,971	1,852	1,125,135	5,836
Crystal City	1968	240,668	-0-	1,004,169	-0-
	1969	248,647	1,124	1,082,200	-0-
	1970	342,752	-0-	1,140,428	-0-
	1971	326,058	564	1,387,846	226,053
	1972	425,031	765	1,336,906	564,401
Uvalde	1968	491,159	241	1,164,034	-0-
	1969	518,111	276	1,247,222	238,163
	1970	762,168	233	1,354,901	327,488
	1971	893,645	221	1,623,636	450,600
	1972	747,260	264	1,845,213	317,797
North Town	1968	362,722	702	684,963	38,681
	1969	380,997	258	715,532	34,282
	1970	423,120	550	771,811	35,849
	1971	485,744	1,237	984,201	468
	1972	567,214	-0-	795,533	4,768
South Town	1968	192,665	2,149	511,643	14,728
	1969	223,456	3,674	497,974	12,482
	1970	295,020	-0-	507,126	13,833
	1971	302,788	-0-	579,863	13,578
	1972	303,604	2,355	678,166	17,530

Source: Texas Education Agency, Annual Auditor's Reports.

Table 38
Occupational Distribution* of Ethnic Sectors in North
and South Counties, 1970

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Occupations	North County Spanish Surname	North County Anglo	South County Spanish Surname	South County Anglo
Professional & technical	3.1	21.2	2.9	25.8
Managers & Admin.	5.0	10.3	4.9	18.0
Clerical & Sales	10.1	23.7	10.9	13.0
Craftsmen & foremen	13.8	11.4	11.1	13.0
Semi-skilled	17.4	10.1	26.2	1.9
Farmers & farm managers	5.9	15.9	2.0	13.2
Farm workers	23.7	4.6	16.5	3.0
Service workers	14.8	2.8	15.5	11.9
Private household workers	6.0	0	10.0	0.2
TOTAL	100.0 (1998)	100.0 (1353)	100.0 (889)	100.0 (462)

*distribution occupationally of all employed 16 years and over.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC(1)-C45, tables 122, 132.

Table 39
Percent Distribtution of Employed Population: North and South Counties,
A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors by Industry Categories
1970

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Industry category	North County		South County	
	Total	Spanish-Surname	Total	Spanish-Surname
Agriculture	29.9	34.3	18.5	18.4
Mining	0.7	1.1	1.1	0.0
Construction	8.5	9.8	13.2	16.8
Manufacturing, durable	3.5	2.3	0.4	0.9
Manufacturing, non-durable	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Transportation, communication	8.7	6.6	5.2	7.1
Wholesale & retail trade	20.5	19.6	20.3	24.7
Finance, insurance, real estate	1.7	0.3	1.8	1.0
Business & repair service	1.5	1.8	2.0	1.2
Personal services	5.0	8.1	8.8	13.6
Entertainment & recreation	0.6	0.7	1.2	1.5
Hospitals, health service	4.5	2.4	5.2	2.6
Educational services	7.9	5.7	12.5	4.0
Other professional services	1.5	4.2	3.5	3.4
Public administration	4.5	2.6	6.3	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(3322)	(1998)	(333)	(889)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970, General Social & Economic Characteristics, PC(1)-C45, tables 123,132.

Table 40
A Comparison of Median Family Income and Median Education, With Poverty[1] Between Ethnic Sectors in North and South Counties 1970

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Characteristics	North County				South County			
	1960		1970		1960		1970	
	Spanish	Total	Spanish	Total	Spanish	Total	Spanish	Total
Median School yrs. complete (25 yrs. and over)	2.3	6.5	4.5	8.8	1.4	4.8	3.5	7.0
Median Family income (dollars)	1666	2676	3724	4926	1585	2296	3000	4056
Percent of all families less than poverty threshold	80.7		51.6		80.1		65.2	

---

[1] Poverty level threshold is measured by the U.S. Census at $3888. The computation used here is a more convervative threshold of $2999. This has made the computation easier and probably accounts for regional variation.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1) C-45, tables 133, 124, 120. 1960, Characteristics of the Population, Vol. 1, Part 45, tables 83,86; Selected Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Texas, table 14.

Table 41
A Measure of Fertility: Ethnic Sector Comparison[1] in North and South Counties, 1970

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	North County		South County	
CHILDREN EVER BORN	Spanish-Surname	Anglo	Spanish-Surname	Anglo
women 35-44, ever married	331	209	166	79
children ever born	1865	588	950	268
per 1,000 women ever married (%)	5.6%	2.8%	5.7%	3.4%

[1] Anglo figures computed by subtracting Spanish-Surname (table 130) from County total (table 120).

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1)-C45, tables 120,130.

Table 42
Live Births, Postneonatal and Neonatal Deaths, and Infant Mortality Rates for 1964, 1971, and 1972: Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South

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County	Live Births			Neonatal			Post-Neonatal			Infant Mortality Rates		
	Tot.	WNSS	WSS	Tot.	WNSS	WSS	Tot.	WNSS	WSS	Tot.	WNSS	WSS
Dimmit												
1964	274	33	241	6	0	6	5	0	5	40.1	0	45.6
1971	243	38	205	6	0	6	0	0	0	24.7	0	29.3
1972	215	30	185	2	0	2	1	0	1	14.0	0	16.2
Zavala												
1964	452	38	414	10	0	10	6	0	6	35.4	0	38.6
1971	310	40	270	7	0	7	1	0	1	25.8	0	29.6
1972	301	25	276	4	1	3	1	0	1	16.6	40.0	14.5
Uvalde												
1964	434	125	307	5	2	3	7	2	5	27.6	32.0	26.1
1971	396	127	269	8	0	8	3	0	3	27.8	0	40.9
1972	348	98	250	6	2	4	2	0	2	23.0	20.4	24.0
North												
1964	127	23	104	5	0	5	5	1	4	78.7	43.5	86.5
1971	272	38	234	4	1	3	4	0	4	29.4	26.3	29.9
1972	270	50	220	4	1	3	2	0	2	22.2	20.4	22.7
South												
1964	151	29	122	4	2	2	3	0	3	46.4	69.0	41.0
1971	98	24	74	2	0	2	0	0	0	20.4	0	27.0
1972	85	13	72	1	0	1	0	0	0	11.8	0	13.9

Source: Unpublished printout by the Texas State Department of Public Health.

Table 43
Employment Characteristics in North and South Counties: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors 1950-1970

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NORTH COUNTY

Characteristic:	Spanish Surname			Anglo*		
	1950-%	1960-%	1970-%	1950-%	1960-%	1970-%
Total pop. 16 over	3664	3664	4329	3029	2749*	2555
labor force	1458-39.8	1657-45.2	2174-50.2	1493-49.3	1522-55.4	1321-51.7
employed	1235-84.7	1335-80.6	1998-91.9	1456-97.6	1522-100.0	1321-100.0
unemployed	223-15.3	322-19.4	176- 8.1	35- 2.4	0 0.0	0 0.0
not in labor force	2206-60.2	1987-54.2	2155-49.8	1536-50.7	1227-44.6	1234-48.3

SOUTH COUNTY

	Spanish Surname			Anglo*		
	1950-%	1960-%	1970-%	1950-%	1960-%	1970-%
Total pop. 16 over	2989	2372	2351	1972	1533	1905
labor force	1483-49.6	974-41.1	1017-43.3	971-49.2	805-52.5	1073-56.3
employed	1117-75.3	737-75.7	889-87.4	950-97.8	805-100.0	1015-94.6
unemployed	366-24.7	237-24.3	128-12.6	21- 2.1	0 0.0	58- 5.4
not in labor force	1506-50.4	1398-58.9	1334-56.7	800-40.6	728-47.5	832-43.7

*Census data for 1960 was erroneous when comparing Spanish surname and total, the table indicates no unemployment for Anglos during this period. Field research in the area indicates a few Anglos unemployed, but not enough to throw the "crude" picture presented above off very far.

Source: (1) U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950, Characteristics of the Population, Vol. 11, Part 43, Texas, table 43; Special Report, White Persons of Spanish Surname, table 9; (2) 1960, Characteristics of the Population, Vol 1, Part 45, Texas, table 83; Special Report, Persons of Spanish Surname, table 14; (3) 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1)-C45, tables 121,131.

Table 44

Employment Characteristics: A Comparison of Ethnic Sectors
in North and South Counties, 1970*

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Characteristics	North County				South County			
	Spanish-Surname		Anglo		Spanish-Surname		Anglo	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Weeks worked in 1969								
Total all workers	2516	100.0	1459	100.0	1312	100.0	466	100.0
50-52 weeks	1387	55.1	884	60.6	509	38.8	273	58.6
27-49 weeks	485	19.3	290	19.9	369	28.1	165	28.1
26 - less	644	25.6	285	19.5	434	33.1	28	6.0

*Anglo data computed by subtracting from Spanish-Surname.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC(1)-C45, tables 121,131.

Table 45
Welfare Assistance in Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties 1972

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County	Total $	Total Number of Spanish-Surname families in the County	Old Age Assis-tance $	Number of recipient families	Percent of total	Aid to fami-lies with dependent children $	Number of recipient families	Percent of total
Dimmit	576,967	1492	263,187	406	27.2	266,465	206	13.8
Zavala	665,954	1813	288,140	463	25.5	339,752	274	15.1
Uvalde	624,389	1746	321,579	535	30.6	261,142	207	11.9
North	662,487	1524	339,719	522	34.3	275,912	230	15.1
South	439,639	792	218,275	307	38.8	172,374	124	15.7

	Number of children in AFDC families	Number of Spanish-Surname children in county, under 14	% AFDC children	Aid to blind	Number blind	Aid to per-manently & totally dis-abled	Number disabled
Dimmit	598	2921	20.5	5,021	4	42,294	57
Zavala	736	3662	20.1	3,632	5	34,430	53
Uvalde	597	3593	16.6	6,552	9	35,116	55
North	600	3247	18.5	6,343	7	40,513	51
South	347	1475	23.5	7,162	8	41,828	63

Source: Annual Report of the State Department of Public Welfare, To the Governor of Texas, Fiscal Year September 1, 1971-August 31, 1972. (2) U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Texas, PC(1)-C45, tables 124,129,130.

Table 46
Welfare Assistance Through Medical Aid[1]--Three Winter Garden Counties Compared with North and South Counties 1972

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

County	Total	Supplementary Medical Insurance	Vendor Nursing Homes & Institutions	Hospital Care		Physicians	Lab & x-ray	Drugs	Other[2]
				Inpatient	Outpatient				
Dimmit	$485,476	$27,605	$191,803	$116,367	$8,444	$78,758	$14,304	$43,034	$5,161
Zavala	355,619	29,725	23,763	127,702	2,971	95,995	25,647	44,322	5,494
Uvalde	497,411	38,606	257,602	74,113	8,620	52,721	12,350	48,949	4,450
North	610,853	36,933	272,294	127,345	9,587	91,903	12,786	53,745	6,260
South	262,268	20,079	3,478	113,659	8,355	78,148	5,723	27,302	5,524

Total Medical Assistance to Winter Garden Counties: $1,338,506 — Total all: $3,205,816

Total Aid to North and South Counties: $873,121 — Total all: $1,975,247

Average Medical Assistance to Winter Garden Counties: $446,169 — Average all: $1,068,605.30

Average Medical Assistance to North/South Counties: $436,561 — Average all: $987,623.50

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[1] Source: Annual Report of the State Department of Public Welfare to the Governor of Texas, September 1, 1971-August 31, 72.

[2] Other includes such aid as payments to chiropractors, anesthesiologists, home health, ambulance service, and miscellaneous expenses of such nature.

Table 47

Government Payments to Farmers-Ranchers in Three Winter Garden Counties
Compared with North and South Counties, 1968-1972
(in thousands of dollars)

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Counties	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Dimmit	192	207	281	155	302
Zavala	1,096	1,123	1,211	765	1,046
Uvalde	1,183	1,172	657	1,015	1,596
North	1,167	1,311	1,463	857	1,373
South	447	450	466	327	539

Source: Texas County Statistics. Texas Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, Texas Department of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1968-1972.

APPENDIX B:

RESEARCH NOTES

Research Notes

Research Development and Problems

A. Initial Contacts and Development of the Problem

The analyst originally planned to do a student culture study using the antropological method of participant observation. It was thought that a school environment comprised of two supposedly different cultural sectors would provide a productive setting. The most obvious setting in South Texas would be one in which Mexican-Americans and Anglos share the school environment, and especially the high school. Since the analyst had teaching responsibilities at a small university in Austin, Texas, the school destined for investigation should be as close as possible, or at least on major highways, in order to commute on a weekly basis. Yet, the analyst wanted to get away from the historical research efforts of the University of Texas and into a locality that had not experienced research. Urban sites were immediately ruled out because of their complexity. At the same time the analyst was familiar with some research being conducted in the Winter Garden area south of San Antonio and believed that there might be some fruitful correlation of research efforts.

With the preceding thoughts in mind the analyst chose six small towns south of San Antonio of comparable size which had a significant distribution of ethnic sectors, were on good highways, and had not experienced research efforts in the past. Initial contact was made with the superintendents of each of these school districts and the research interests of the analyst was presented. Several of these men were positive that their school boards would not allow any outsider into the schools because of the existing ethnic conflict. Several others were willing to allow the analyst to meet with their boards and present the research proposal.

First school board contact was made with North Town in November 1972. During this meeting the analyst explained his interest in specifying the way in which students organized their school environment and the special significance of differences that might be found between Mexicanos and Anglos. The board discussed the proposal with the analyst for several hours. Again, the possible impact upon local ethnic relations was foremost in their minds. The Mexican-American members were resistant to the research proposal because they felt it "placed the Mexicanos under the microscope." That is, Mexican-Americans were constantly being used as research guinea pigs and this should stop. The Anglos were in favor of the study but didn't want to do anything to antagonize the Mexican-American board members, hence the study was rejected. However, the analyst was greatly impressed by the way board members articulated their problems of local leadership. Each spoke of trying to keep the Chicano movement from erupting in the high school, of coping with increased costs, and the increasing involvement of the state and federal units. They were extremely hostile toward the HEW for a published report in 1969 which designated North Town as one of the several highly "segregated" school districts in the state of Texas. It was the board's contention that the data used by HEW was from the 1950's and that these inequities had been corrected.

The analyst visited several other districts earlier designated as possible research sites, and found the same situation. School board members in each locality expressed extreme fear over a possible Chicano take over of the schools and the analyst's presence was perceived as a possible agitating factor. By this time the analyst was becoming greatly excited over the possibilities of describing and accounting for the problems of school leadership in a case of ethnic competition for control of the schools. It was also highly evident that most of the localities visited were very suspicious and hostile to research. One locality arrested a man and physically threw him out of town for taking a survey on the downtown sidewalk.

Using contacts made with several of the school boards the analyst decided that North and South Town were two of the most accessible sites and several board members in each locality seemed amenable to the researcher's presence. Again using the superintendent as the key source of entrance the analyst made some further contacts pursuant to moving into the town. After some assurance that the analyst's presence would not be met with any type of extreme hostility the decision was made to begin the study in North and South Towns.

Initially the analyst was puzzled over the meaning of the conflict for control of the local schools. It seemed a reasonable hunch that the two ethnic units had differing ideas regarding the philosophy of education. That educational goals differed. It was hoped that an attempt to determine the cultural meanings attached to schools and the power relations existing in the locality might clarify this problem. The analyst was also extremely interested to know the effect of state and federal level units upon the local conflict and schooling in general. Again, as the analyst spoke with administrators it was very apparent they were under enormous strain from the local ethnic confrontation, which greatly inhibited their ability to govern. Therefore, the analysis should be able to document the effects of the local ethnic conflict upon the ability of professional school leaders to operate.

B. The Analyst's Biases and Further Field Work Problems

1. The analyst's biases-

The analyst was raised in South Texas and therefore is aware that he shares the Anglo set of ethnocentricisms to some degree. This enabled the analyst to better empathize with local Anglos in North and South Town. Yet, the analyst has had a number of experiences outside the area, not only in terms of travel and research, but education--theological and sociological. These latter experiences have enabled the analyst to look at the historical relationships through a somewhat different set of eyes, thus sympathesizing with the plight of the Mexicano. The analyst hopes that the Mexicano will be able to successfully compete as equal with the Anglo and exert that control which is his by virtue of the democratic processes. However, the analyst believes that this should be done within the legal framework. More importantly, the analyst possesses a deep humanistic bias that would like to see members of both ethnic units meeting each other as equals, competing, and sharing local governance and other resources, without the traditional cultural baggage described in the preceding report. It seems to the writer that the Anglos, as dominants, possess the means to re-arrange these historical relationships. They need the moral ability to do so. It was very disheartening to hear Anglos in both localities admitting to the ethnocentricisms of their forefathers and unable to deal with their own in the present. It was a tragedy to the investigator that North Town Anglos allowed themselves to be mobilized by the most hysterical voices and the way in which they constantly misunderstood the Ciudadanos members' actions. This process set up a "self-fulfilling" set of actions and reactions between both units.

At the same time the writer was disturbed by the abrasive and physical fashion used by South Town RUP members in attempting to mobilize their ethnic peers. The situation became so polarized, in both localities, that no means seemed to exist whereby each competing unit could meet and interact around the problems central to their conflict. Again, the analyst believes that all conflict resolutions, at any level, can only be handled to the best interest of both where there exists a neutral arena for face to face encounter. It is further tragedy that the existing churches have been unable to play a mediating role--for the reasons described in the report. The writer hastens to add that at no time did he say anything or do anything to inform the local conflict. For good or evil the analyst maintained a traditional objective observor's role--probably for evil.

2. Informants and problems encountered-

Informants are categorized according to school and non-school relationship. This is followed by the number of hours spent in the interview situation with the members of the category being described. No time was counted that related to group coffee sessions or informal socializing. The informants are subsumed in such broad categories in order to protect their identity, as was originally promised by the investigator. The "real" names and interview notes of each informant are in the possession of the analyst and available to any "serious scholar." Serious scholar in this context means a person possessing research credentials and demonstrating to the satisfaction of the analyst his, or her, scholarly intent.

Generally the writer was well received in both localities. Friends were cultivated that will hopefully last a lifetime. This latter statement does not overshadow the fact that there was generally a great deal of suspicion on the part of locals, especially Anglos. This usually subsided somewhat after the analyst explained the purpose of the research. In order to validate the data collected from one informant it was cross-checked with others, without revealing sources. Yet, when asked if the analyst had spoken to so-and-so there was never an attempt to evade that fact. But what another informant said was never communicated to others.

There were several in both locales who resisted the writer's attempt to interview them. In North Town a leading BGL leader was very rude to the analyst and in South Town one Anglo farmer refused entirely to meet the analyst. South Town Anglos were initially more suspicious and hostile than North Towners. One South Town informant mentioned early in the investigation that several had dropped by his place to discuss my presence. On another occasion a leading South Town rancher's wife confronted the writer very pointedly with her suspicions. She stated that the analyst had been successful in gaining entrance to a number of homes under the "pretext" of being interested in local history, but she wanted to know "what are you really doing?" The analyst tried to explain as simply as possible his interest in local school leadership problems and the process of choosing the locality. This seemed to be sufficient.

Generally the analyst was received very cordially in both locales. It must be noted that the writer said "cordially," and not warmly or ecstatically. In fact, the writer was very glad to leave North Town because the atmosphere was becoming increasingly hostile.

INFORMANTS

North Town, November 1972 - July 1974

I. School Leadership, Past and Present

The informants in this category were school board members who had served and were serving presently; those who had unsuccessfully competed for school board membership in the past and those who were doing so presently; school administrators; teachers. The total time spent with informants from this category was 121 1/4 hours.

II. Non-School

The informants in this category included members of the city and county governance apparatus; those who had formerly attempted to compete for a seat on the city council or county commissioner's court and those who were presently engaged in the attempt to do so; members of the Better Government League and the Ciudadanos Unidos Mexicanos; locals who were not directly involved in the BGL or Ciudadanos, but who had economic and/or social ties to the locale. The total time spent with informants from these operating units was 41 hours.

III. Events Observed

The analyst regularly attended the school board meetings, was present during the confrontation between the

BGL, local Ciudadanos, Crystal City Anglos, and the Crystal City Raza Unida Party. Further, the analyst irregularly attended the court trial concerning the election irregularities in 1973. The analyst attended one city council meeting, several BGL meetings, several football games and practices, and church services.

South Town, July - December 1974

I. School Leadership, Past and Present

Informants in this category followed the structure applied to the analysis in North Town, that is, school board members who had served and were serving, those who had unsuccessfully competed for school board membership in the past, school administrators, past and present, and teachers. The total time spent with informants from these operating units was 133 hours.

II. Non-School

The informants in this category comprised the following categories: old families, city and county officials, RUP members, CBG members, and a number of persons from both ethnic sectors who would not be included in the above definitions. The total time spent with informants from these operating units was 99 1/2 hours.

III. Events Observed

The analyst attended the following events and/or activities in South Town: church services, several school board meetings, PTA meetings, dedication of the new Junior High School, alumni luncheon, homecoming fiesta, Catholic church fiesta, and football games.

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VITA

Donald Eugene Post was born in Grand Island, Nebraska on March 2, 1936, the son of Esther Ellen Pearsall and Roeland Homer Post. After completing his work at Western High School, Silver City, New Mexico, in 1954, he entered New Mexico Western College at Silver City, New Mexico. During 1956 he attended Howard Payne College, Brownwood, Texas. In 1957 he entered McMurry College, Abilene, Texas, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with a major in history in May 1958. He received the degree of Master in Theology from Southern Methodist University in 1961. He received the degree of Master of Science in Sociology from Trinity University at San Antonio, Texas, in May 1967. During the summer of 1968 he studied at the New School for Social Research in New York City. In September 1969 he entered the Graduate School of the University of Texas at Austin. His publications include "The Emerging La Raza Unida Movement," in Christian Century, March 1970; "God is Alive and Well in the Ghetto," in Our Lady of the Lake College Alumni Magazine, September 1969, which was also reprinted in the Sunday edition of the San Antonio Express News, October 15, 1969; "Two Controversial Figures: Ivan Illich and Father Lemercier of Cuernavaca," in The Methodist Story, September 1968; and a review of Inside the High School by Phillip Cusick, in the Journal of Educational Studies, Summer 1973. He was employed as an instructor in sociology at San Antonio Junior College, San Antonio, Texas, in January 1967. He joined the faculty of Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas, as an instructor in sociology in September 1967. In September 1970, he was employed as an assistant professor at St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas. He is presently on the faculty at St. Edward's University. During the period of 1955 through 1965 he was a Methodist minister. In 1965 he became a worker-priest in the Methodist Church and engaged in the following jobs: cab driver, day laborer, bartender, and staff trainer for Project FREE. In 1955 he married Eleanor Victoria Hopkins of Harlingen, Texas. A daughter, Lenora Dawn, was born in 1961 and a son, Darren Roeland, in 1963.

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